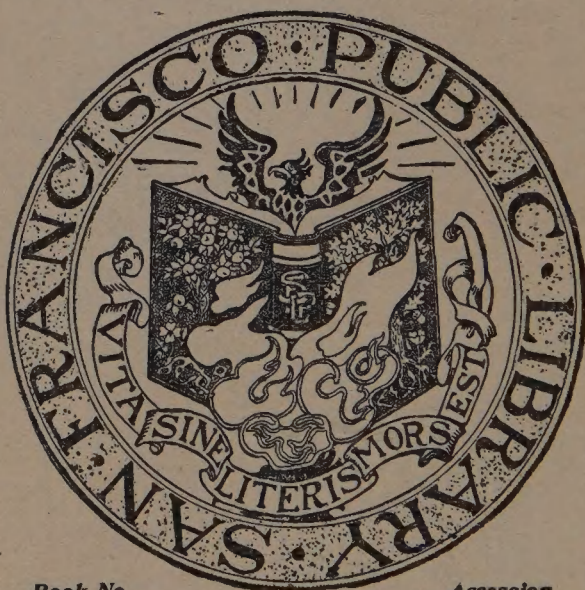




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The Leonard Press, N. Y.

"The central aim of Socialism is to terminate the divorce of the workers from the natural sources of subsistence and of culture. The Socialist theory is based on the historical assertion that the course of social evolution for centuries has gradually been to exclude the producing classes from the possession of land and capital, and to establish a new subjection, the subjection of workers who have nothing to depend on but precarious wage-labor. Socialists maintain that the present system (in which land and capital are the property of private individuals freely struggling for increase of wealth) leads inevitably to social and economic anarchy, to the degradation of the working man and his family, to the growth of vice and idleness among the wealthy classes and their dependents, to bad and inartistic workmanship, to insecurity, waste and starvation; and that it is tending more and more to separate society into two classes, wealthy millionaires confronted with an enormous mass of proletarians, the issue of which must either be Socialism or social ruin. To avoid all the evils and to secure a more equitable distribution of the means and appliances of happiness, Socialists propose that land and capital, which are the requisites of labor and the sources of all wealth and culture, should be placed under social ownership and control."

Thomas Kirkup, in "History of Socialism," p. 8.

"Socialism is a criticism of existing society which attributes most of the poverty, vice, crime and other social evils of today to the fact that, through the private or class ownership of the social forces of production and exchange, the actual producers of wealth are exploited by a class of non-producers; a theory of social evolution according to which the rate and direction of social evolution are mainly determined by the development of the economic factors of production, distribution and exchange; a social forecast that the next epoch in the evolution of society will be distinguished by the social ownership and control of the principal agencies of production and exchange, and by the equalization of opportunity as a result of this socialization; a movement primarily consisting of members of the wealth-producing class, which seeks to control all the powers of the State and to bring about the collective ownership and control of the principal means of production and exchange, in order that poverty, class antagonisms, vice and other ill results of the existing social system may be abolished and that a new and better social order may be attained."

John Spargo, in "Elements of Socialism," p. 5.

# The American Labor Year Book 1916.

Prepared by  
The Department of Labor Research  
of  
The Rand School of Social Science



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## PREFACE.

The present volume is the result of a genuine co-operation of a number of persons. The greatest part of the section on the International Socialist Movement was prepared by Ludwig Lore. The account of the movement in Switzerland, Spain, Portugal and Latin America, was written by Algernon Lee, while the article on Japan was contributed by Sen Katayama. Jessie W. Hughan edited the section on the Socialist Movement in the United States.

The editor takes this opportunity to express his gratitude to the various contributors who generously responded to his call, as well as to those who aided him in the preparation of the book.

Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, Walter Lanfersiek and Adolph Germer, former and present national secretaries of the Socialist Party very kindly supplied information relating to the respective organizations.

It is with a deep sense of pleasure that acknowledgement is here given to David P. Berenberg, Spencer Brodney and Harry W. Laidler who helped in editorial and other capacities and to Ida Crouch-Hazlett, W. M. Fiegenbaum, Lewis Gannett, Avis Hotchkiss, Josephine Nixon and Thomas Seltzer who assisted in collecting material, writing articles, proof-reading and indexing. Bertha H. Mailly and the entire staff of the Rand School helped at every stage in the preparation of the volume.

Had space allowed, a number of valuable articles and much statistical material would also have been included. The editor was forced to omit a great deal of prepared material and to shorten a number of articles. It was his hardest and most painful task. He, however, hopes that the readers will understand his plight and, in missing certain items of interest to the Labor Movement, will not ascribe it to the lack of appreciation of their importance. The book has been enlarged to more than a prohibitive size and, it is the earnest hope of the editor that the future issues will not suffer on account of lack of space. Criticism of the present volume, as well as suggestions for guidance in the preparation of future editions, are earnestly solicited.

The publication of the Labor Year Book has been made possible by the establishment of the Edward Berman Publishing Fund of the Rand School by Mr. and Mrs. Morris Berman in memory of their son, Edward, who died July 15, 1916.

ALEXANDER L. TRACHTENBERG.

September 1, 1916.



## THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR RESEARCH, 1915-1916.

Since its organization in the Fall of 1915, the Department of Labor Research of the Rand School of Social Science, under the direction of Juliet Stuart Poyntz and Alexander L. Trachtenberg, has done much to prove the need of such an institution for the Socialist and Labor Movements.

**Investigations**—During the strikes in the Dress and Waist and Ladies' Garment Industries the workers' organizations called upon the Department to conduct investigations into the earnings and conditions of their members. The results of the studies were used in the arbitration proceedings between the workers and the employers, as well as for publicity purposes.

**Reference Library**—A Central Labor Reference Library containing public documents, official reports, periodical publications and proceedings of labor unions for the use of labor organizations and students of the labor movement was started and is rapidly being built up. The labor unions throughout the country are co-operating with the Department.

**Legislative Work**—At the request of Congressman Meyer London the Department has furnished material on Social Insurance and Unemployment at the public hearings before the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives, which is reproduced in the printed proceedings of the hearings.

**Information**—The Department has supplied from time to time information on various subjects to persons in preparation of speeches, debates and articles.

**Labor Year Book**—In co-operation with a number of interested persons, the Department has prepared for publication a Labor Year Book, the first of its kind in the United States.

### NOTICE.

Secretaries of National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, Civic, Co-operative and other organizations are requested to send, as they are published, duplicate copies of Annual Reports, Journals, Proceedings, Agreements, and all other publications to

THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR RESEARCH OF THE  
RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

140 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.



## INTRODUCTION.

BY MORRIS HILLQUIT.

This volume represents the first attempt in this country to establish a reliable annual chronicle of the aims, struggles and achievements of labor throughout the world.

Within its own sphere the scope of the American Labor Year Book is practically unlimited. It will be the earnest endeavor of its publishers to record in the pages of the succeeding volumes, year by year, the progress and problems of the most important economic and political movements making for social reform and for the betterment of the workers' lot.

No period of our history has been so replete with significant economic struggles, startling political developments and radical social reform as the present. The United States is in the process of remaking and countless movements are directly and indirectly co-operating with each other in the process.

In this swift current of struggle, change and progress the active worker in the movement is carried along from day to day and from task to task without opportunity to pause for orientation. And yet a periodical orientation and re-orientation is as essential to the labor leader, Socialist and social reformer as periodical stock-taking is to the business men. To be truly useful and effective the modern social worker must be familiar not only with the conditions of the movement in which he is directly interested but also with those of the kindred and even hostile movements, their aims, programs and practical achievements. With an alert eye and open mind he must study all new fields of activity, new methods of action and new currents of thought, and learn alike from their weakness and their strength.

The American Labor Year Book will aim to furnish this opportunity to the practical social worker. It is an undertaking as ambitious and difficult as it is timely and necessary. In the preparation of this volume the compilers have en-

countered not only all the usual difficulties attendant upon a new enterprise of this character, but also many additional obstacles arising from the abnormal social conditions of the times. The devastating war in Europe has largely disorganized all social movements and checked all social progress in the belligerent countries. Only scant and fragmentary information was therefore obtainable on the Socialist and labor movements of Europe, which in normal times contribute the largest share of the world's social progress.

The publishers of the American Labor Year Book are fully aware of the shortcomings of this volume, but they hope to do better in each of the succeeding editions by dint of increasing experience, and particularly upon the restoration of normal conditions in Europe. In the meanwhile they find comfort in the conviction that the work is worth while as a beginning and as the basis for steady and progressive improvements.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	5
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR RESEARCH . . . . .	6
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	7

## PART ONE.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES . . . .	11-58
The American Labor Movement, 11; The American Federation of Labor:—Principles, 17; Character, 18; Membership, 19; Finances, 20; Convention, 1915, 21; Directory, 26; Un-affiliated Organizations, 26; Labor Press, 27. Teachers' Unions, 28; Jewish Labor Movement, 30; Women's Trade Union League, 34; Industrial Workers of the World, 36; Workers' International Industrial Union, 37. Fraternal Organizations:—Workmen's Circle, 39; Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society, 41; Labor Secretariat, 42. Labor Trials:—Women's Garment Workers, 44; Caplan and Schmidt, 45; Lawson, 45; Quinlan, 46. Strikes:—Roosevelt, 47; Bayonne, 48; Arizona, 50; Chicago, 51; Youngstown, 51; Statistics of Strikes, 53. The "Protocol," 55; Hours of Labor, 58.	

## PART TWO.

LABOR AND THE LAW . . . . .	59-88
Labor Legislation, 1915, 59; Minimum Wage Legislation, 61; Factory Inspection, 65; Court Decisions Affecting Labor, 1915, 68; The Kansas Labor Statute and the Supreme Court, 82; Boycott, Blacklist and Injunction, 84; Clayton Anti-Trust Law and the Boycott, 85; Danbury Hatters' Case and the Supreme Court, 86; Blacklist, 88; Injunction, 88.	

## PART THREE.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES . . .	89-159
Historical Sketch of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party, 89; Differences between the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party, 92; Growth of the Socialist Parties of the United States, 94; Political Activity and Results, 100; Problems of American Socialism with Recent Decisions Regarding Them, 120; Socialist Party Referenda, 128; Foreign Language Federations, 129; Socialist Press, 144; Socialism and Education—the Rand School of Social Science, 151; Socialism and the Youth:—Socialist Sunday Schools, 153; Young People's Socialist League, 154; Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 156. Christian Socialists, 157; Directory of Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party Officials, 157.	



## PART FOUR.

### THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOR MOVEMENTS . . . 160-253

The International, 160.

Austria, 161; Belgium, 165; Bulgaria, 168; Denmark, 171; Finland, 173; France, 177; Germany, 181; Great Britain and Ireland, 185; Greece, 193; Holland, 194; Hungary, 197; Italy, 199; Norway, 201; Poland, 204; Portugal, 205; Roumania, 206; Russia, 208; Servia, 211; Spain, 213; Sweden, 215; Switzerland, 219.

China, 221; Japan, 225.

Canada, 229; Latin America:—Argentina, 232; Brazil, 232; Chile, 233; Cuba, 234; Mexico, 234; Porto Rico, 239; Uruguay, 240; Guyana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, 240.

South Africa, 240.

Australia, 242; New Zealand, 245.

Young People's International, 247.

In Memoriam:—James Connolly, 250; Walter Crane, 250; J. Keir Hardie, 251; Jean Jaures, 251; Edouard Vaillant, 252.

## PART FIVE.

### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS . . . . . 254-324

Woman and Child Labor, 254; Infant Mortality, 267; Commission on Industrial Relations, 269; Earnings in the United States, 275; Standard of Living, 278; Property Incomes, 280; Low Wages and Prostitution, 282; Social Insurance, 286; Industrial Accidents, 290; Workmen's Compensation, 292; Scientific Management, 297; Co-operation in the United States, 300. Public Education:—Compulsory Education, 306; Mortality in School Attendance, 308; Attendance and Expenditures, 308; Health of School Children, 309; Federal Aid for the Common Schools, 311; Democratizing the Schools, 313; Vocational Education, 315; Community Centers, 317; Academic Freedom, 319; Immigration, 322; Prohibition Movement in the United States, 323.

## PART SIX.

### GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS . . . . . 325-375

Economic Imperialism, 325; War, Militarism, and "Preparedness," 329; Labor and the Democrats, 332; Graduated Income and Inheritance Taxation, 335; Public Ownership of Public Utilities, 342; Trend Toward Public Ownership, 343; Facts of Public Ownership, 346; Woman Suffrage, 350; United States Government, 356; Commission Form of Government, 360; Proportional Representation, 365; Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, 367; State Constabulary, 368; Public Employment Offices, 368; Naturalization, 372; Meaning of Conservation Movement, 375.

### INDEX . . . . . 376-382

## PART ONE.

# THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

## THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

BY FRANK MACDONALD.

The Trades Union movement in this country has seemingly been the most chaotic that exists anywhere. At times it has come perilously near, in the earlier days, to reflecting the curious and often wildly absurd forms we see in some American religions, legislation, social experiments and the administration of law.

Lynch law is typically American. It has been used without stint against the unions. Then there is a mass of Federal laws, State laws of 48 different kinds, county laws and municipal ordinances. Somewhere in this mass could be found a law that could be directed against the unions. But slowly out of the disorder and fighting every step of the ground against those in whose favor the laws were framed, the trades unions have brought the working class, even the unorganized, to a clearer understanding of what is their right and what is necessary to the general social welfare.

They have done it at a cost of suffering, of life and of wealth that is incalculable. In the hundreds of experiments that have been made in organization there was always at least a lesson. Little unions have come forward, attempted certain reforms and have passed away. Great unions, apparently capable of wielding invincible power, have suddenly disintegrated, and the work of organization had to be started again. The American people are the most disorderly, uncertain of purpose and wasteful in the world. The American people include those whose ancestors came here with the first Europeans and those who arrived yesterday. They are of every race and every color and speak dozens of different tongues. But it does not matter what the color or the language may be, each is a potential wage worker and it has been the task of the Trades Unions to organize them and drill them into an efficient army of Labor in defense of Labor.

### The Problems.

First of all, the workers had no protection under the law. The little strikes that occurred in the earlier days were not the result of Trades Unionism but were the revolts of a few individuals here and there. The Trades Union is the product of the machine. Whitney's invention of the cotton gin made the textile business possible on a large scale, and necessitated a big supply of labor. Howe's invention of the

sewing machine produced a revolution. In 1830 there were only about 20 miles of railroad in this country, and it is during this period that the American Trades Union begins its first halting attempts to protect the wage workers.

The carpenters and joiners and the shipwrights had formed organizations early in the century, and in 1833 the carpenters' strike in New York led to the formation of a general trades union. In 1825 the New York women tailors struck, and women have made labor history in the clothing industry since that time. In 1836 the Lowell mill girls went on strike because the cost of board had been increased from \$5 a week to \$5.50 and there had been no increase in wages. These are all significant incidents as they show that necessity had aroused the wage workers and they show that the number of wage workers was steadily increasing.

Practically all the unions, with a few striking exceptions, previous to the Civil War were short lived. But it is during this time there occurred the events that make the great American labor problem of to-day. This is the richest country in the world, and it has the richest and in some respects the poorest people in the world.

Previous to the Civil War the process of monopolizing was in full swing. The land grabbers, the mine and forest grabbers opened the way for the oil field and water power monopolists. So the American labor movement has not only had to struggle against the individual employer but against great aggregations of wealth and the legislative power that wealth gives.

The history of the American labor movement forms a library. Its variations are endless, and its history as told in strikes and lockouts is one long series of outrages and injustice. Trades Unions have not only had to protect themselves in the factories, but they have had to fight for labor and social legislation from the beginning. When this legislation was obtained they had to fight for its enforcement.

They have had to fight the lawmakers and the judges, the police power and those who usurped police power. Nothing has been won without a bitter struggle and that struggle is only now approaching its climax.

### **The Workers Had No Rights.**

In England, which had developed a leisure class that could afford to be philanthropic, labor legislation was due in a great measure to the efforts of those who realized the inhumanity of the conditions under which the workers toiled. America had no leisure class of like impulse, so the workers in the beginning had to do their own fighting.



The wages fight is always the basis of the struggle, for it is an attempt to make income square with the cost of living. Our first unions were formed by little groups of men who demanded some slightly increased share of the wealth they were producing, and they needed that increase in order to live.

At the same time there steadily grew the consciousness that the hours of labor were murderous. The day's work was from sunrise to dark and then an hour or two by candle light, and this six days in the week. The demand for a twelve hour day was greeted with savage opposition as a violation of the rights of property. It was conceded reluctantly by first one and then another employer, and would never have been observed if the fight for an eleven hour day had not immediately been started.

Today, when hours have been reduced, the great Ten Hour movement will seem a curious thing to many. Yet it was one of the hardest of all the fights, and employers and officials alike regarded it as leading to the destruction of American institutions and American liberty. Where the trades are not organized even in our time, and where there is not a combination of the workers of a State for the protection of all the workers, such restrictions of the hours of labor as there are on the statute books are not observed.

The Trades Unions have not only had the task of fighting the battle for fewer hours of work, but they have had to stand on guard and see that the law did not become a dead letter. Much of the wealth made in New England industries, and now possessed by the older and highly respectable families, had its origin in the merciless driving through many hours of the men, women and children in the factories.

### The Women and Children.

Northern people view with horror the opposition in the south to the Keating Child Labor bill. There is not so much of philanthropy in this as there is the realization that the south, with its child labor, has an advantage not possessed by the north. There is no limit to the number of hours the women and children toil in tenement industry, and if the north did not possess a strong labor movement, no one can believe that there are not employers in plenty who would take advantage of this supposedly cheaper labor so that he could more advantageously compete in the open market with his goods.

Women were forced into the textile mills, the shoe shops, the sweatshops, the department stores, the meat packing establishments, the cigar factories, and now into the munitions factories and the foundries. American male workers

opposed their entrance into industry, and the early trades unions fought against their joining them. Fortunately the opposition to membership did not prevail, and women workers are a mighty fighting force in the trades union movement.

Trades Unionists in all except a portion of the south, won their demands for a limit to the age at which a child can enter the factory or store, and they also got their demands concerning night labor of women and children. In the large cities the object now is to prevent tenement work and the farming out of work, at low wages, to women and children in the country districts as is done in a few industries.

Where the workers do not combine, or where the combination is weak and there is union only under terrible stress, there is a reversion to the old and vicious conditions that prevailed before the unions began to exercise their power. Some American mill and factory towns have tenements as foul as those which existed in the Five Points, or in certain east and west-side districts of New York before the agitation for tenement house regulation was begun. So long as the workers do not form permanent organizations and maintain them these conditions will continue.

### Preventing Waste.

The struggle for a higher standard of living means the prevention of the waste of human life. The shorter work day tends to the physical and mental improvement of the workers. Improved dwelling places give the workers an incentive to still better conditions. The curtailment of the once unlimited power of the "boss" increases the self esteem and respect of the workers. Better and safer factory conditions have led to the demand for better social conditions.

Labor legislation and labor control of working conditions are the two most encouraging things of the present time.

There is another factor that has been a great influence in bringing about the demand for more and ever more labor and social legislation. That is the organization of the various benefit funds of the unions and the increasing number of unions which maintain their own homes for the sick or disabled, the growth of pension funds and the existence of such organizations as the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society and the Workmen's Circle.

It is a mistake to think that the workers are thereby lifting a burden from the shoulders of the capitalists, and paying for things the capitalists would otherwise have to meet in the form of increased taxes. The control of their own affairs by the workers leads inevitably to his determination to control still more. The industrial insurance societies

have fattened on the poorest of the workers. The union workers do not have to resort to the industrial societies. They can belong to their own and at the same time obtain a measure of economic protection. The union worker does not have to go to the almshouse when he is old or ill, as more of them now have their own resorts and union homes. They are forming within present capitalist society ■ new order of things in which the welfare of all is considered.

Each year the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the big railway Brotherhoods pay out millions of dollars in relief or death benefits. At the same time they stand between the whole working class and ■ violent lowering of the standard of living. Through their efforts the country is gradually finding itself and awakening to the understanding that the human being is the most important thing in the world.

### **An Army of Mercenaries.**

America is not militaristic but it has the most menacing standing army that exists in any country. This is the strike breaking or detective force, ready to do anything for money, ready to go anywhere, and preying upon the whole population.

The only effective opposition offered them is that which comes from the trade unions. Every unionist is against police and military power being lodged in private hands. Yet it rests there. In the proceedings of the last convention of the American Federation is the following:

"Patience is a virtue. But wrongs, injustice and denial of rights deserve neither patience nor tolerance.

"The working people of the United States—organized and unorganized—are wonderfully patient; they have been blacklisted, jailed, robbed and killed. Unscrupulous employers have mistreated them in every way ingenuity can devise. The lust for more profit and power has ruined mentally, physically and morally many men. Large employers of labor and many small employers have during recent years delegated part of their legitimate functions to other concerns. They have surrendered the actual management of their affairs to outside parties. They have been deceived and robbed through impositions upon their credulity by scheming agencies labeled "information bureaus," "secret service companies," "detective agencies," "auditors and inspection companies," and other concerns representing themselves as employment agencies."

New York's Classified Telephone book lists over 125 of these agencies, all maintaining offices, all with ■ body of men

on call, and all ready for anything from breaking ■ strike, to spying on employees or any other dirty work.

They are ready any time to start for the coal mines of West Virginia (and during the Kanawa strike they went there in an armored car), to ■ clothing strike in Philadelphia, a teamsters' strike in Chicago, or any other place they are ordered to. They have shot up towns, assaulted and in many instances murdered strikers in cities. They were the men who fired on and murdered the strikers at Roosevelt, and they do the beating up in clothing or any other strikes. They break the picket line and make way for the scab.

It is in their determination to put an end to this that the trades unionists again have shown that they are the vital, living force in social betterment.

### The Press.

Ayer's Newspaper Directory lists 250 labor publications, with a circulation of over 2,000,000. Some of them are splendidly gotten out monthly magazines, as carefully edited and finely printed as any publications. Besides carrying technical and trade news they have articles of general importance and interest. The growth of the labor press has been steady and the improvement of it has been measureless.

In 1828, nearly 90 years ago, *The Mechanics' Free Press* appeared in Philadelphia. It could have had only a few hundred circulation, but it was the advance guard of the labor press.

### Conclusion.

The American Trades Union can claim vast credit for having, when American capitalism, relentless and greedy for profits made possible by the introduction of machinery, resisted all efforts to reduce the northern workers to a worse condition than the slaves of the south; for having resisted constant efforts to lower wages and battled valiantly for increased wages; for having started to pull the workers out of the slums of the city and the styes that clustered around the factories of the industrial town; for having worked for fewer hours, against child labor, against night work for women and children; for having forced factory improvements, tenement improvements and for having repeatedly compelled the city authorities to pay attention to street and other conditions in the tenement districts.

They have organized and administered their own system of relief, and in spite of serious lapses and defections have done it well.

They have now turned their efforts to obtaining social legislation that will improve the condition of all.

There are now in this country at least 3,000,000 and with the efforts made to organize so-called unskilled labor, the number will increase. Temporary checks and setbacks have been constant in the labor movement. They have not prevented it from forging ahead. Local, trade, State and national federations have grown to power, and then been crushed or have gone to pieces because of foolish efforts, corruption, inefficiency, social conditions or other causes. The Knights of St. Crispin, the Knights of Labor and others have exercised power only to be swept away.

Industry in this country is more minutely divided than in any other, and little, individual organizations have grown up within an industry, amalgamated, separated, fought and come together again.

The whole swirl of American life is reflected in the Trades Union.

And yet it has gone on, accomplished much, and now sets itself to still greater tasks.

For all the heartache in it, in spite of the wrangling and jealousies in the ranks, in spite of blunders, the organized labor movement has attained a momentum that is sweeping society on to things that are good for labor, and therefore good for society.

## THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

### Principles.

"Whereas, a struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

"It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

"We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system."

Objects—"Section 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working



people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor."

### Character.

The character of the American Federation of Labor, which was organized in 1881, though not named "A. F. of L." until five years afterwards, was influenced to no small extent by the character of its predecessor—the **Knights of Labor**. This organization, which reached its zenith in 1886, came to grief largely because of its combining in the local assemblies laborers of all varieties and many employers and non-wage-earners; its dual organizations of labor assemblies and trade assemblies; its over centralization; its frequent participation in sympathetic strikes and its peculiar political ventures.

The A. F. of L. desired to avoid these pits. It therefore sought to preserve the distinctive character of each trade, kept out, at least at first, of politics; eliminated the dual organization and organized a loose federation of trades, in which the component parts have complete liberty of action.

The A. F. of L. is in reality a federation. Local unions are generally affiliated with it through the nationals. At the end of 1915 it contained 110 national and international unions, 44 state federations, 673 city central bodies, 489 local trade and federal labor unions, 21,887 local unions, 5 department and 389 local department councils. Its membership was reported as 1,946,347. The number of organizers employed during 1915 was 1,754.

The real factors in the conduct of the Federation are the conventions, called annually on the second Monday of November—between election and the opening of congress. National and international organizations are represented therein by one delegate for approximately every 4,000 members.

The officers of the Federation are a president, eight vice presidents, a secretary and a treasurer, each elected the last day of the convention. All elected officers must be members of unions connected with the Federation. The responsible administrative work rests with the Executive Council, composed of the eleven officers. The council watches legislative measures, initiates legislation, schedules speakers and performs many necessary administrative tasks.

National and international unions must pay to the Federation two-thirds of one cent per member per month; local trade unions and federal trade unions, ten cents, five cents of which must be set aside for strikes, etc. State and Central bodies pay \$10 per year. All national unions are supposed to instruct their locals to join the Central labor bodies and

state organizations in their vicinities. Seven wage workers of good character favorable to trade unionism, whose trade is not organized and who are not members of any body affiliated with the Federation, may form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union."

The State Federations look after legislation in their respective states and urge more effective organization among the workers. The city councils—meeting generally once a week and composed of representatives from the various locals in their vicinity—look after the general organized labor interests of their respective communities.

The federation also possesses five departments whose objects it is to get various unions to co-operate for mutual advantage—the Union Label, the Building Trades, the Metal Trades, the Railway Employees, and the Mining Departments. Each department, after its establishment, supports itself and manages its own affairs, and has its representative at the meetings of the Executive Council.

The Union Label Department, organized in 1909 for the purpose of inducing unions to have the label placed on their products and unionists to purchase goods bearing the union label, had affiliated with it in 1915, 39 national and international unions. The Bakery & Confectionery Workers were reported to have issued during the year 630,170,000 labels, and the tobacco workers, 446,794,950. The department in its educational campaign, issued 200,000 pieces of literature, scheduled a number of stereopticon lectures, held union label exhibits, etc.

The Building Trades Department, organized in 1908—though an evolution from a similar organization formed in 1903—contains most of the trades engaged in building, and the Metal Trades, those in the metal industries. The Mining Department contains the United Mine Workers, Western Federation of Labor, Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, Iron, Steel, and Tin workers, and the Machinists.

Although most of the unions connected with the Federation are trade organizations, there are a few industrial unions, including the United Mine Workers, the Brewery Workers, and there is ever more discussion regarding industrial unionism in the ranks of organized labor.

### Growth of Membership.

The average paid up and reported membership for 1915 is 1,946,347, a decrease of 74,324 members, the first decrease there has been in the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor since 1908. While the average membership for the year shows a decrease of 74,424, the September membership of the year was 1,994,-

111—a decrease of only 26,560. National and international organizations are required to pay per capita tax only upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the 1,946,347 membership reported does not include the members involved in strikes and lockouts, or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received. Forty-three national and international unions of the 110, showed an increase in their average membership over last year of 46,772 members, which is an encouraging growth. Thirty-three organizations showed no increase. Thirty-four organizations showed a decrease of 118,019 members. The directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions showed a decrease of 3,077 members. The decrease in the membership of the directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions is confined to the nine local unions that joined international unions and the local unions suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. A number of the suspended unions will be reinstated during 1916.

Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897 .....	264,825	1907 .....	1,538,970
1898 .....	278,016	1908 .....	1,586,885
1899 .....	349,422	1909 .....	1,482,872
1900 .....	548,321	1910 .....	1,562,112
1901 .....	787,537	1911 .....	1,761,835
1902 .....	1,024,399	1912 .....	1,770,145
1903 .....	1,465,800	1913 .....	1,996,004
1904 .....	1,676,200	1914 .....	2,020,671
1905 .....	1,494,300	1915 .....	1,946,347
1906 .....	1,454,200		

### Finances.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1915:

#### RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1914.....		\$102,492.81
Per capita tax .....	\$176,372.31	
Supplies .....	8,028.54	
Interest on funds on deposit .....	2,340.00	
American Federationist .....	36,731.27	
One-cent assessment to defray expenses in the United Hatters' case .....	15,777.24	
One-cent assessment to organize women workers	5,373.95	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions .....	14,257.98	
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued .....	890.53	
Reinstatement and initiation fees .....	5,804.47	
Money received and not receipted for.....	858.50	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	5,190.74	
		<hr/>
		271,625.53
Total .....		\$374,118.34

## EXPENSES.

General .....	\$193,595.26	
Defense fund:		
Local trade and federal labor unions .....	\$8,223.57	
On account of amount advanced on office building loan.....	40,500.00	
		48,723.57
American Federationist .....		35,294.06
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions .....		5,052.66
One-cent assessment to defray expenses in the United Hatters' case .....	11,982.43	
One-cent assessment to organize women workers .....	9,192.62	
Reinstatement and initiation fees .....	145.35	
		<u>303,985.95</u>
Cash balance on hand Sept. 30, 1915..		70,132.39
		<u>RECAPITULATION.</u>
In general fund .....		\$12,744.56
In defense fund for local and federal labor unions .....		57,387.83
		<u>\$70,132.39</u>
Cash balance on hand Sept. 30, 1915 .....		\$70,132.39
On account of amount advanced on office building loan from defense fund .....		40,500.00
		<u>\$110,632.39</u>
Balance on hand Sept. 30, 1915, including building loan		

## THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR CONVENTION, 1915.

Of more than usual interest to the entire country as well as to the world of organized labor was the A. F. of L. Convention of November last. To the outside public, the proposal for a Labor Peace Conference, and the attitude of the delegates on the questions of "preparedness," immigration, Pan-American relations and other questions with an international bent were of the greatest interest. To labor, the heated controversies over legislation for the eight hour day, industrial unionism and the proposal to apply the principles of the referendum and recall to the election of the officers of the A. F. of L., were perhaps, of the most vital importance.

### Labor Peace Conference.

A most hopeful decision or rather re-decision, from the standpoint of the internationalist, was the adoption by the convention of the suggestion of the Executive Council to hold a Labor Peace Conference immediately after the cessation of hostilities in order to inject something of the human element in international relations and demand "the democratic control and democratic organization of international agencies and international methods."

"During the previous history of the world," the report of the Council truly states, "international relations have been



left for professional diplomats and politicians. As a result this field has not been organized, and there are few permanent agencies for dealing justly, comprehensively and humanely with international questions and rights."

The Council proposed that every national center affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions send two delegates to the Conference, and that unaffiliated organizations be also represented. The Convention adopted the recommendation and authorized the Council to appoint the president of the A. F. of L. and another delegate to attend. It also urged that the trade union movement maintain strict neutrality in the present crisis, for "after all, down deep in the hearts of all real unionists lie that fraternal spirit and world-wide brotherly love, genuine sympathy and kindly regard for the welfare of our fellow workers, regardless of place and nationality."

In considering the Central and South American countries, the Council recommended closer relationships with the labor movement than had been in existence heretofore, especially in view of the affiliations which the employing classes of the various countries will have with each other in the near future. It commented favorably on the pro-working class attitude of Carranza in Mexico. Toward the people of Porto Rico, the Convention assumed the internationalist position, by urging Congress speedily to pass legislation which would grant citizenship to the people of that island, and relieve them from the oppressive social and economic conditions under which they were living.

The delegates also went on record against the discriminations under which the Jewish race in various European countries were now suffering.

In regard to immigration, the Convention repeated its well known position in favor of the literacy test, on the ground that unlimited immigration would lower the American standard of living and, furthermore, that "ability to read is a qualification that should reasonably operate to protect the alien against the misrepresentations and false promises held out to them by the unscrupulous agents of conscienceless exploiters." It urged its members also, to work for a more extensive Asiatic exclusion law, and against employing or patronizing Asiatics in any manner whatsoever.

### "Preparedness."

It was not, however, until the question of "preparedness" was reached that the convention witnessed a genuine cleavage of opinion among the delegates. The Council had previously reported on the Dick military bill, declaring that it had not been wrongly applied in the twelve years of its

existence, and that a vigilant labor movement could prevent its injurious use. It had also expressed its belief in the need of a small standing army to be supplemented by a citizen soldiery, democratically organized and controlled. It must, however, be said in passing that the recent agitation for "preparedness" has met with a distinct disapproval of the rank and file of the labor movement. In numerous cities where "preparedness" parades were held the labor unions have declined the invitation to participate and have used the opportunity to declare their opposition to the extension of the spirit of militarism which the advocates of "preparedness" were trying to bring about through influencing public opinion.

The discussion at the Convention was begun as a result of a resolution introduced by Adolph Germer of the Illinois Mine Workers, now National Secretary of the Socialist Party, urging the Federation to protest "against the introduction in our public schools of military propaganda" and to "call upon the workers to desist from affiliating with any branch of the military forces." In defense of his resolution, he declared that the Trade Union movement of America was the only one that was not anti-militaristic; that Europe had been plunged into war because of her preparedness; that there were powerful interests in this country endeavoring to use the schools, movies, theaters, civic organizations, to forward their pro-militarist schemes; that there was no fear that the crippled and maimed of Europe would desire war with us after the European conflagration was over, and that the chief danger was the use of the military forces in developing our foreign trade. "And I," declared Delegate Germer, "absolutely refuse to go to a foreign nation to shoot other workers or be shot by them."

President Gompers, who concluded the debate, asserted that he had been a pacifist for many years, but that the sight of the workers of Europe hurling themselves at each other's throats, caused him to revise his opinions. He believed that an international court whose decrees were enforced by boycotts, would be the outcome of this war, but was of the opinion that the republic should be prepared for emergencies. "A people," he continued, "unwilling to defend the institution of self government are not worthy to have a republic." He pleaded for the Swiss citizen army plan, and claimed that it would be dangerous to the liberties of the country to leave the military forces in the hands of the select few. All the speakers asserted that they were bitterly opposed to war and to militarism. The motion of Delegate Germer was defeated.

### The Tilt Over the Eight Hour Law.

The liveliest debate held during the Convention was that dealing with the eight hour law, at the conclusion of which the Convention reaffirmed, by a small majority, its action of the previous year, placing itself on record against legislative enactment for the shorter work day. This action of organized labor is, to many, one of the most inexplicable decisions of the convention.

The resolution in favor of the eight hour day law was introduced by Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, who represented the Illinois Federation of Labor. The Committee in reporting the resolution unfavorably declared that labor had won its first battles through the repeal of laws by which the conditions of labor were determined by legislative and judicial authorities, and that wage earners must depend on their own economic organizations for securing the shorter work day. This is the only effective method, and, at the same time, "it enables unionists to maintain their independence and their resourcefulness."

In behalf of his own motion, Delegate Fitzpatrick declared, that, in his opinion, labor should use both its political and economic power, to attain its end in this fight. Most of the people in this country are unorganized and cannot fight for the eight hour day industrially. "There is no ray of hope in their lives and still we are going along regardless of the interests they may have in the premises. . . . We have organized two million men after a hard struggle and a great number of years, practically within the period of the average man's life, and then we say to these others, 'Live on in hope that some day our organization will reach you and bring you within our beneficent fold.'"

That the leisure which an eight hour law would bring would conduce to the strengthening rather than the weakening of the labor movement, was the contention of Delegate Barnes of the Cigar Makers Union. "It is the best man at his trade," said Delegate Barnes, "that headed the roster of the labor movement in every community. . . . Because he was skilled and independent he had more time for thought. Those who have the most leisure will be the quickest to organize. There is a growing public sentiment in the direction of the eight hour law, and we want to coin that sentiment into law. . . . Now the American Federation of Labor goes to the doors of the legislatures and says: 'Let us alone; we will fix John D. Rockefeller and his blessed son; we will take care of the steel industry. You gentlemen representing legislation, keep your hands off!' . . . You are going back one hundred years and assuming the position of the master class regarding legislation, I don't know just

what made Mr. Gompers change his mind on this law. In his speech in Philadelphia, he flung at Delegate Gallagher, 'Do you know where the eight hour law in California originated? It was started by the Socialist Party of California.'"

Mr. Gompers, who opposed the resolution, asserted that there were, unfortunately, some who did not believe that struggle and travail were natural in human development and who thought that an easy route could be found. He believed that tyranny would necessarily result if the state interfered.

"I am unwilling as one," he affirmed, "to place within the power of a political agent, call him what you please, the right to govern my industrial liberty, or the industrial freedom of my fellow workers. There never was a government in the history of the world and there is not one today that, when a critical moment came, did not exercise tyranny over the people. . . . I have been in constant touch with the men in the Australasian labor movement. While in this convention I have received a letter from Melbourne in which it is declared that the trade union movement is becoming weakened and enfeebled. . . . The truth is it was the Socialist Party that first made the declaration to secure the eight hour day by law. It was predicated upon the motion of ballot box mania, and it was for the purpose of injecting into the convention and into the labor movement of America such questions as may tend to divide us. . . . If the miners want regulation by law, let them have it, but you cannot force it down the throats of other trade unionists. Primarily I want the government to secure to us by law the right to exert and exercise the normal human activities of self-development and associated effort, so that we may fight the battles, not by a piece of paper dropped in an urn or a beautifully carved ballot box, but by scars of battle, by the hunger of the stomach, by the weeping and the wailing of life, and still stand true to the battle line of Labor."

The philosophy underlying the remarks of President Gompers were challenged by such well known unionists as Van Lear and President Johnston of the Machinists and Secretary Green of the United Mine Workers.

On the calling of the roll, the committee reported 8,500 for the committee's report and against the resolution, and 6,396 against the report.

A somewhat acrimonious tilt between Mr. Gompers and Delegate Barnes resulted from the introduction of a resolution to find out whether or not the rank and file of membership wished to elect officers by referendum rather than by the convention methods. The resolution was lost.

The convention voted to give its moral and financial support to the Danbury Hatters; in favor of government



ownership of telephones and telegraphs and municipal housing, free text books in universities, industrial education, legislation restricting the use of armed guards, and many other important legislative and industrial changes.

Altogether the convention indicated that the delegates were becoming supremely alive to the big issues of the day, and while to the advance guard of the labor movement many of their decisions could not be justified, the thrashing out of big national and international questions, as witnessed at the convention, and the intelligent and fearless challenging by the minority of positions which they deemed unsound, gave much promise for the days that are to come.

### DIRECTORY A. F. OF L.

**Headquarters 801-9 G Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.**

#### OFFICERS OF THE FEDERATION.

President—Samuel Gompers.

Vice Presidents—James Duncan, James O'Connell, D. A. Hayes, Joseph F. Valentine, John R. Alpine, H. B. Perham, Frank Duffy, William Green.

Treasurer—John B. Lennon.

Secretary—Frank Morrison.

#### DEPARTMENTS.

Building Trades Department, Ouray Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Metal Trades Department, Ouray Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Mining Department, Ouray Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Railroad Employees Department, Ghio Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

Union Label Trades Department, Ouray Bldg., Washington, D. C.

#### UNAFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS.

The following labor organizations are not affiliated with the A. F. of L. but maintain friendly relations with the Federation:

Bricklayers and Masons International, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Jefferson Bldg., Peoria, Ill.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, B. of L. E. Bldg., Cleveland, O.

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, American Trust Bldg., Cleveland, O.

National Window Glass Workers, 419 Electric Bldg., Cleveland, O.

Order of Railway Conductors of America, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

## LABOR PRESS.

### PUBLICATIONS ISSUED BY THE A. F. OF L.:

The American Federationist (official), monthly—President Gompers, editor.

A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter—Contains digest of news of interest to the trade union movement. Furnished to labor press, organizers, and other trade union officials.

### OFFICIAL JOURNALS OF INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

- American Pressman—Rogersville, Tenn.
- American Flint, The—Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio.
- Bakers' Journal—Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
- Barbers' Journal—222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Blacksmith's Journal—Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
- Boilermakers' Journal—Law Building, Kansas City, Kan.
- Bookbinders' International Journal—222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Brauer Zeitung—2347-51 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Bricklayer and Mason—University Park Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers' Journal—2341 W. 12th Street, Chicago.
- Bridgemen's Magazine—American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Broom Maker—851 King Place, Chicago.
- Buchdrucker Zeitung—Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- The Carpenter—Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
- Cigarmakers' Journal—Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
- Commercial Telegraphers' Journal—Monon Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
- Coopers' Journal—Bishop Building, Kansas City, Kan.
- Electrical Worker—Reisch Building, Springfield, Ill.
- Elevator Constructor—Perry Building, 16th and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Garment Workers' United Weekly Bulletin—Bible House, New York, N. Y.
- Glass Worker—118 E. 28th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Glove Workers' Monthly Bulletin—Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
- Granite Cutters' Journal—Hancock Building, Quincy, Mass.
- Harpoon, The—Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks P. O. Box 1302, Denver, Col.
- Horseshoers' Journal—Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Amalgamated Journal—House Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Ladies' Garment Workers' Journal—32 Union Square, New York City.
- The Lather—Superior Building, Cleveland, O.
- Leather Workers' Journal—Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo.
- Locomotive Engineers' Journal—B. of L. E. Building, Cleveland, O.
- Locomotive Firemen's Journal—Traction Terminal Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
- Longshoreman—18 W. 12th Street, Erie, Pa.
- Machinists' Journal—McGill Building, Washington, D. C.
- Maintenance of Way Employes' Advance Advocate—27 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
- Marble Worker—406 East 149th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Master, Mate and Pilot—80 Broad Street, New York, N. Y.
- Metal Polishers' Journal—Neave Building, Cincinnati, O.
- Metal Workers' (Amalgamated Sheet) Journal—Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
- Mine Workers' Journal—Merchants' National Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Miners' Magazine—Denham Building, Denver, Colo.
- Mixer and Server—Commercial-Tribune Bldg., Cincinnati, O.
- Molders' Journal—Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Motorman and Conductor—601-603 Hodges Block, Detroit, Mich.  
 Musicians' International Journal—3535 Pine Street, St. Louis, Mo.  
 Painter and Decorator—Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.  
 Paper Makers' Journal—127 N. Pearl Street, Albany, N. Y.  
 Patternmakers' Journal—1008 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
 Paving Cutters' Journal—Lock Box 27, Albion, N. Y.  
 Photo Engraver, The American—6111 Bishop Street, Chicago, Ill.  
 Plasterer—442 East Second St., Middletown, O.  
 Plate Printer—414 Wash. Loan & Trust Co. Building, Washington, D. C.  
 Plumbers' Journal—411-16 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.  
 Potters' Herald—Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.  
 Quarry Workers' Journal—Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.  
 Railway Carmen's Journal—507 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.  
 Railway Clerk—Kansas City Life Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.  
 Railway Conductor—Kimball Building, Cedar Rapids, Ia.  
 Railroad Telegrapher—Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.  
 Railroad Trainmen's Journal—1207 American Trust Building, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Railroad Freight Handlers' Journal—1123 Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.  
 Retail Clerks' International Advocate—Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.  
 Seamen's Journal, Coast—84 Embarcadero, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Shingle Weaver—202 Maynard Bldg., Seattle, Wash.  
 Shoe Workers' Journal—246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.  
 Stationary Firemen's Journal—3615 N. 24th Street, Omaha, Neb.  
 Steam Engineer—6334 Yale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.  
 Steam Shovel and Dredge—105 West Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.  
 Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Journal—309 N. 24th Street, South Omaha, Neb.  
 Stone Cutters' Journal—Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.  
 Stove, Range, and Metal Pattern Workers Journal—1210 Jefferson Ave., E., Detroit, Mich.  
 Switchmen's Journal—326 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 The Tailor—1595 East 67th Street, Chicago, Ill.  
 The Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers' Magazine—222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.  
 Textile Worker—86-87 Bible House, New York, N. Y.  
 Tile Layers and Helpers' Journal—119 Federal Street, N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 Tobacco Workers' Journal—American National Bank Building, Louisville, Ky.  
 Travelers' Goods and Novelty Workers' Journal—191 Boyd Street, Oshkosh, Wis.  
 Typographical Journal—Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.  
 Union Postal Clerk—219 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.  
 Wood Carver—10 Carlisle Street, Roxbury, Boston, Mass.

## TEACHERS' UNIONS.

BY BENJAMIN GLASSBERG.

The first teachers' union was formed in Chicago in 1902. It came after a five years' struggle on the part of the Chicago Teachers Federation, which had been organized in 1897. Their struggle was for a living wage. Their maximum salary after eleven years of service was \$825. Tired of repeated excuses of "no money," the teachers determined to find money for the city. Their search very soon led to the discovery that the great majority of the rich corporations in the city had not been paying a cent into the municipal treasury for years. Then began the heroic fight of the teachers to force

these predatory corporations to pay their share of the taxes. There were writs, mandamuses, appeals, and stays. By 1902 five corporations were finally forced to pay \$600,000 as their annual taxes.

The teachers seemed beaten, when an invitation came from the Chicago Federation of Labor to allow organized labor to help the teachers in their fight for justice. After some hesitation they decided to affiliate themselves with the organized workers of Chicago and together fight the common enemy of the workers.

Some of the most important achievements of the Chicago Teachers union are as follows:

The maximum salary has been raised from \$825 a year to \$1,500.

They helped in the fight for equal suffrage.

They fought the school book trust.

They fought the attempts of Big Business to institute a dual system of education, which would put the children of the workers in one class and the children of the rich in another.

They fought to have the use of the public school building given to the people for social centers.

They worked for better sanitary and educational conditions for children.

They actively supported every movement for public ownership of all public utilities.

The pressure of economic conditions forced upon the teachers of Cleveland also, the recognition that only through organized efforts could they hope to secure any improvement in their status. In May, 1914, a union was formed, affiliated with the Cleveland Federation of Labor. Although the lower courts upheld the teachers in their right to join a union, the school officials immediately discharged the leaders, who were all teachers of long experience. The Superintendent of Schools was fined for violating a restraining injunction that had been secured. The upper courts however sustained him. The right of the teacher to join a union is not yet disposed of, it being still before the courts.

Within the past year (1916) Scranton, New York and Washington, D. C., have witnessed the formation of teachers' unions. In May, 1916, came the organization of a national league of teachers unions, the **American Federation of Teachers**. The charter members are the three unions in Chicago, and the unions in Gary, Ind., Scranton, Pa., Washington and New York. The total membership is about 6,000. *The American Teacher*, a monthly published in New York City since 1912, in the interests of "Democracy in Education, Education for Democracy" has been adopted as the official organ of the Federation.



Teachers Unions mark a new departure in trade union methods and ideals. Teachers place their main reliance upon aroused public opinion instead of the strike. In addition to the need for improvements in salaries and conditions of work which are the important causes of their formation, their objects go beyond the interests of merely their own group, as the work of the Chicago teachers well shows. The Constitution of the Federation emphasizes especially the necessity of democratising education and the schools, and substituting self reliance for subserviency among the teachers, so that they may better equip their pupils to take their place in the industrial, social, and political life of the community.

## THE JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

By J. B. SALUTSKY.

Out of more than 2,000,000 Jewish immigrants residing in the United States at least 400,000 are wage-earners, salespeople, insurance agents, and others. The majority are employed in shops and factories, principally in the "needle industries." Despite the fact that Jews are well represented among the leaders of industry, trade, and finance, the Jewish population is primarily proletarian. The Jewish immigrants who arrived before the eighties of the last century from Germany and other parts of Western Europe had money and education, and were able to enter the front ranks of business enterprise, which at that time was greatly expanding. These German Jews became the "upper class" of the Jewish population, with such prominent leaders as Jacob Schiff, Julius Rosenwald, Louis Marshal, and Louis D. Brandeis. On the other hand the Jewish immigrants who left Russia during the revolutionary period of 1903-1908 form an entirely different class. Many of them had participated in, or sympathised with, the emancipation movement. Of the many who cherished the hope to become "independent" a few penetrated the middle class as contractors, factory-owners, and store-keepers. Those who had been tradespeople or "intellectuals" emerged from the "melting pot" as proletarians. They were compelled to enter factories and shops and become wage-earners.

None of those who came from Russia and few from Austria knew anything of labor unions or of political parties. Yet these Jewish immigrants have not only developed solid organization, but have also, as they claim, evolved a more advanced type of unionism, more modern and aggressive in methods and tactics than some of the organizations of native labor. Belonging to unions affiliated to the American Feder-

ation of Labor there are 250,000 Jewish proletarians, sixty per cent of them in New York City. Thus, while the Jews form only slightly more than 2 per cent. of the population of the United States, they constitute over 10 per cent. of those organized under the A. F. of L.

The tendency toward Americanization is strong among Jewish unionists. They strive to assimilate whatever they have of revolutionary tradition with the conservative methods worked out by American labor leaders during the last sixty years. This fact is interesting in view of the "foreign" leadership of the Jewish unions. Nearly all the organizers, speakers, and writers are "green" immigrants. The few exceptions are Russian Jews who spent several years in England, where they imbibed the first principles of trade unionism. These leaders are the most conservative and of late have been supplanted by men and women who have risen directly from the ranks of the workers.

Judging from available figures supplied by unions, there are nearly 300,000 Jews, male and female, employed in the "needle industries." Others are to be found among the building trades, inside iron works, leather factories, etc. There are 30,000 Jews in locals of the Brotherhood of Carpenters throughout the country. There is probably an equal number in the painting and paperhanging trades. While the Jews form the predominating racial group (the Italians being the next largest), in the "needle industries," in the other trades they are insignificant minorities. The international unions, in some cases, have separate Jewish locals; for instance, the Typographical Union, in which the Jewish printers of New York City, separately organized, have succeeded in getting the highest scale of wages.

The first large union of Jewish workers was formed in New York City in 1888 when, with the help of "intellectuals," the United Hebrew Trades was organized. Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, and several other prominent Socialists of today were among the initiators. Until then attempts to organize the men and women employed in the sweat shops had not been very successful. But with the United Hebrew Trades in existence it was possible to get nearly 15,000 of the Jewish tailors to strike for better conditions. "The strikers were unorganized and undisciplined," says Morris Hillquit in his *History of Socialism in the United States*, "and it is very doubtful whether they would have accomplished anything substantial without the aid of the Socialists. The latter practically assumed entire charge of the contest. They organized the strikers into trade-unions, collected funds for them, directed their battles, and led them to victory. It was, therefore, natural that there should have been at all

times a strong bond of sympathy between the Jewish trade-union movement and the Socialist movement. Most of the organizers, leaders, and speakers of the Jewish trade-unions came from the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party, and in return the organized Jewish working men heartily co-operated with the party in all it undertook, and promptly responded to all its appeals." Though the Jewish unions have tried, even in matters of detail, to adopt the ways of the American organizations, they have never abandoned their close relationship with the Socialist movement. At times many unionists show a strong tendency toward still more aggressive methods than those recommended by acknowledged Socialist leaders, and so sections of the Jewish workers and some of their unions have been active in the organization of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, promoted by the S. L. P., and later in the I. W. W. But the great majority have never forsaken the A. F. of L.

Until about 1905 the Jewish labor movement did not consolidate its advances. Many unions had only a short existence. As a rule organized through a strike they began to fall to pieces as soon as work was resumed. The United Hebrew Trades, of course, strove to strengthen the movement. Although efforts to organize in other cities such as Philadelphia, Chicago, and Boston were not very successful, the United Garment Workers of America, as the organization was now called, maintained a nucleus of organized Jewish tailors in New York and Chicago. The Cloak and Skirt Makers of New York were more successful. They formed part of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which at times was strongly organized and conducted effective general strikes as far back as 25 years ago. But all that was of short duration. The continuous influx of immigrants and the movement of Jewish workers from trade to trade and from city to city made strong and permanent organization extremely difficult. Lack of experience and education were also adverse factors.

The present organized movement of the Jewish workers really began with the two big strikes of 1909-10 and the preceding fight of the Jewish bakers' workmen for the recognition of their union and label. The Furriers (8,000 in all) followed suit (1911). The tailors in Chicago (1910), where the Jews number 40 per cent. of the trade, and then the general strike of the men's clothing workers in New York City—over 100,000 strong—founded the era of organization. Men and women rose from the ranks to leadership, and the immigrants of yesterday are today an efficient division of the labor army.

Reference should be made to the recent split in the

United Garment Workers Union and the formation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which is not affiliated to the A. F. of L. The idea of secession from the official labor movement of the country does not appeal much to the leading elements in the Jewish workers' organizations. Abuse and neglect on the part of officials had to reach their climax before the Jewish tailors could be driven to break away. If the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America still refuses to join the A. F. of L., the latter must be blamed for its methods of routine. There is no lack of desire in the seceding body to affiliate with the central movement of the nation's workers.

To the American observer, to whom the apparently revolutionary tendencies of the Jewish labor movement seem at variance with the national movement, the extreme loyalty of Jewish workers to the generally conservative leadership of unionism is puzzling. But there is no contradiction. Part of the explanation is to be found in the life of the Jews in the countries from which they have emigrated. Another point to note is that made by Professor Hoxie, of Chicago, who drew a distinction between business unionism and social unionism. The first looks on organization as a business investment. It measures its strength in numbers and money, and is possibly more efficient. It is the honest, conservative type of unionism as represented by Samuel Gompers and its slow and cautious policy. The second type of unionism views organization from the standpoint of social service. It places ultimate aims above immediate gains, though by no means neglectful of material advancement. It demands a higher quality of devotion. The conflict in the United Garment Workers arose from this difference in fundamental philosophy. This side of Jewish labor unionism, of course, has its shortcomings, but it must be recognized as an eventual source of strength and not of weakness. It also explains the bond which unites the Jewish unions with the Socialist movement.

The Jewish labor movement is not confined to trade unions. An important auxiliary is to be found in the Mutual Benefit and Educational Societies. The best known is the Workmen's Circle, with nearly 600 branches throughout the country and over 50,000 members. There are also many local organizations of the kind. They do valuable work in educating immigrants, who know little or nothing of political rights, and initiating them in the ideas of citizenship and economic organization. This is doing the work of Americanization in the best sense.



## THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

By ALICE HENRY.

### Platform.

1. Organization of all workers into trade unions.
2. Equal pay for equal work.
3. The eight-hour day.
4. A living wage.
5. Full citizenship for women.

### Organization and Affiliation.

The founding of the National Women's Trade Union League of America in 1903 marked a new stage in the trade organization of women. It has grown in numbers and influence. It now has headquarters in Chicago and branches for local work in New York, Chicago, Springfield (Ill.), Boston, Worcester (Mass.), St. Louis, Baltimore, Denver, Philadelphia, Kansas City (Mo.), and Los Angeles.

The Women's Trade Union League is endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and is represented at their conventions by a fraternal delegate. It receives moral and financial assistance from the American Federation of Labor, and from international and local unions in many trades. It has held five biennial conventions, the last in New York in 1915.

The League was the prime mover in obtaining public support for the federal investigation into the conditions of woman and child wage-earners.

It publishes its own magazine, *Life and Labor*, and issues from time to time a great amount of literature on women in industry, their problems and how to handle them.

It conducts a school for training women as active workers in the trade union movement. The need for women organizers is admittedly a crying one, which this school is doing much to fill.

The League claims an affiliated membership of 125,000 women trade unionists, while many thousands of trade union men are also enrolled in its ranks.

The trades of the women members, and the women's locals in active connection with the branch leagues cover such widely varied occupations as bag makers, bakery and confectionery workers, beer bottlers, bindery women, boot and shoe workers, bookkeepers and stenographers, cigar makers, cooks, garment workers in many subdivisions, glove workers, hospital attendants, hat trimmers, laundry workers, office cleaners, paper box makers, printers, teachers, telephone operators and waitresses.

The organizations affiliated nationally include such large unions as the International Seamen's Union, the United Mine Workers, the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and the American Federation of Musicians; there are also four state federations and thirty-five city central labor bodies.

The League has locally as well as nationally a membership among both individuals and organizations sympathetic with its aims and subscribing to its platform, although not themselves part of the labor movement.

### League's Activity.

In their own districts the local leagues play an important part in labor activities as they concern women, whether it be in time of strike, creating public opinion when the workers find all ordinary channels of publicity closed to them, or again, assisting weak organizations to become strong; educationally in maintaining classes and holding meetings; or in the legislative field, where in co-operation with other groups, they persistently work for suffrage, and such other legislative reforms as will benefit the workers, especially the women workers. But as a federation of women's trade unions, its most important function is to foster unceasingly the spirit of solidarity among the exploited women wage-earners, whether these be doffers in an Eastern textile mill, city waitresses, women in a furniture factory in the Middle West, or teachers in Chicago.

The League was represented by one of its members, Miss Agnes Nestor, on the Federal Commission for Vocational Education. Another, Miss Leonora O'Reilly, went to The Hague last year as the working women's spokesman at the International Congress of Women.

Headquarters, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Illinois. President, Mrs. Raymond Robins; Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Emma Steghagen.

### References.

For a fuller account of the Women's Trade Union League, and for further information, the reader is referred to the Proceedings of the Biennial Conventions, and to "The Trade Union Woman," published by Appleton, New York.

**INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.**

(From The World Almanac, 1916.)

**Declaration of Principles.**

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

"We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trades unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trades unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trades unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

"These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with capitalists but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The I. W. W. is composed of 300 local unions, 3 national industrial unions (textile, lumber and marine transport workers), having a total membership of 70,000, five national administrations—Hawaiian, Australian, New Zealand, Great Britain and South African.

The scheme of organization is similar to the one described below.

The opposition to political action is expressed in the following:

"That to the end of promoting industrial unity and of securing necessary discipline within the organization, the Industrial Workers of the World refuse all alliances, direct or indirect, with existing political parties or anti-political sects."

The officers of the I. W. W. are W. D. Haywood, General Secretary Treasurer; Joseph J. Ettor, General Organizer. The headquarters are at 164 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

## THE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION.

Formerly Industrial Workers of the World.

By H. RICHTER, GEN. SECRETARY W. I. I. U.

The Workers' International Industrial Union is the new name adopted in 1915 to designate the socialist industrial class union, which was organized in 1905 under the name of the Industrial Workers of the World. The change of name was deemed advantageous to distinguish the Socialist organization from the one which follows the tenets of anarchy, advocates "sabotage," and so-called "direct action," usually denoting non-political action. The career of the so-called Industrial Workers of the World was started at the fourth convention of the I. W. W. in 1908 with the slogan: "Strike at the ballot box with an ax."

The Workers' International Industrial Union maintains today the socialist position on the industrial field as established in 1905, amplified by the experience gained since that time.

The following is the declaration of principles as amended at the Convention in 1915 (amended sections are given in bold type):

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes ■ struggle must go on until the toilers come together on the political field under the banner of ■ distinct revolutionary political party governed by the workers class interests, and on the industrial field under the banner of One Great Industrial Union to take and hold all means of production and distribution and to run them for the benefit of all wealth producers.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trades union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trades unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. The trades unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions must be changed, the interests of the working class upheld and while the capitalist rule still prevails all possible relief for the workers must be secured. That can only be done by ■ organization aiming steadily at the complete overthrow of the capitalist wage system, and formed in such ■ way that all its members in any one industry or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

The W. I. I. U. recognizes and advocates the necessity for a distinct Revolutionary Political Party governed by the workers' interests, as essential to remove capitalism, but as an organization it is not connected with such a political party. The special functions of either organization would be ham-



pered by an organic connection the mutuality of interests will insure such co-operation as serves best the interest of the workers. On the basis of the above, a resolution to indorse the Socialist Labor Party was defeated at the last convention.

The constitution of the W. I. I. U. provides for an organization "embodying thirteen national industrial departments, national industrial unions, local industrial unions, local recruiting unions, industrial councils and individual members."

The Industrial Departments are to consist "of not less than ten local unions, aggregating a membership of not less than ten thousand members." They are to be subdivided in industrial unions of closely kindred industries in the appropriate organizations for representation in the departmental administration. The Departments included are: "Department of Mining Industry; Transportation Industry; Metal and Machinery Industry; Glass and Pottery Industry; Foodstuffs Industry; Brewery, Wine and Distillery industries; Floricultural, Stock and General Farming Industries; Building Industry; Textile Industries; Leather Industries; Woodworking Industries; Public Service Industries; Miscellaneous Manufacturing."

None but actual wage workers could be members of the W. I. I. U. Members of the organization are prohibited from holding office in "a pure and simple trade union."

In the strike of Textile Workers in 1912 in the state of New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, etc., the workers gained material advantages, as well as educational benefits with the industrial organization, with less expenditures in time and money than was possible with the old craft style of union.

The Iron Workers in Pittsburgh, Pa., and Akron, O., Cigarmakers in Baltimore, Md., Furniture Workers in Philadelphia, Pa., etc., experienced the same. It is true that not in all cases the material advantages could be maintained, the organization being too new and not properly developed to eliminate entirely the schemes of the opposing capitalists but enough was demonstrated to warrant the greatest confidence in future growth and power.

The W. I. I. U. has now (February, 1916) distributed throughout the country 26 local unions, the same comprising members of almost all industries, but principally the Textile, Garment, Metal and Machinery, Transportation, Public Service and Building Industries, the total membership approximating 2,500.

The W. I. I. U. publishes an official monthly organ, *The Industrial Union News*.

The officers of the W. I. I. U. are: General Secretary-Treasurer, H. Richter, Detroit, Mich; General Organizer, Caleb Harrison, Chicago, Ill.

## FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS.

## THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE.

*(Arbeiter Ring.)*

The organization now known as the **Workmen's Circle** is one of the strongest factors in the Jewish Labor Movement. In its present form it is an outgrowth, established in 1900, of what was then known as "The Arbeiter Ring of New York." This parent organization was founded in 1892 to aid sick and needy members, and for the spreading of education and Socialism. The organization was, of course, poor, the benefits paid being, in those early days, only \$5 per week, and extending over 8 weeks. The "Circle" was started by some twenty people, and has grown until it has today 52,000 members, divided into more than 600 branches.

The activities of the "Workmen's Circle" have increased in proportion to its size. Today it pays to sick members \$6 per week for an aggregate of 15 weeks a year. It pays \$100 to any member afflicted with pulmonary tuberculosis, and in addition gives such members a six months' stay in the sanatorium maintained at Liberty, New York. It is gratifying to be able to state that more than 90 per cent of the patients are cured when leaving the institution. Inmates at Liberty are not made to feel that they are recipients of charity. They are not considered a burden on the organization, because a special sanatorium maintenance fund exists, for which each member pays an equal share annually.

In addition to the sick benefits, and the sanatorium for consumptives, the "Workmen's Circle" provides a death benefit amounting to \$100 to \$400. All expenses are met by annual membership dues, by assessments, and by the proceeds of branch entertainments, etc.

The educational work of the organization is extensive and important. The Educational Committee issues a monthly magazine, *Der Freund*, and publishes timely books. Tours by prominent lecturers are arranged taking in the smallest towns, as well as the large cities. For the coming year the "Workmen's Circle" has arranged with the Board of Education of New York City for the use of its school buildings, to give courses for its membership in American History, History of the Socialist and Labor Movement, Hygiene, The Theory of Socialism, History of Jewish Literature, Botany, Civics, and Naturalization. The annual appropriation of this Educational Committee is \$4,000.

"The Workmen's Circle" can be considered a thoroughly Socialistic institution. It co-operates with the undertakings of the Socialist Party and with other branches of the Labor Movement. At its annual convention it donates large sums to radical organizations in need of financial assistance. The affiliation of the Workmen's Circle with the Socialist and

Labor movements can best be seen from the following Declaration of Principles:

"The constant oppressive economic condition of the worker and the frequent illness which for the most part is a result of the workers' friendlessness and need have called into existence the 'Workmen's Circle.'

"The mass of the workers realized that through united efforts and through mutual relief, the problem of alleviating and improving their unendurable condition will be made much easier.

"But the Workmen's Circle is convinced that destitution, need and its accompanying disease, are unavoidable occurrences in the present economic scheme of things, and that mutual relief alone could eradicate all the existing evils which are a part of the present social order. Therefore, in order to liberate the worker from his perpetual material and social oppression we must aspire to alter the entire present system.

"And because of this, the Workmen's Circle has automatically become a part of the Socialist and trade union movement and puts before itself the aim of helping the working class as a whole, of bettering the condition of the worker, of increasing his wages and of strengthening his social and political influence.

"Because of this viewpoint every member of the Workmen's Circle is in duty bound to belong to a trade union. If he desires to utilize his political right as a citizen at any election he must vote for the parties that have as their ultimate function, the abolition of private property."

This Declaration of Principles must be read by the Chairman of the meeting at the initiation of every candidate, and only when the candidate declares himself in sympathy with them, may he be accepted as a member of the Workmen's Circle.

Table showing growth of membership and assets of Workmen's Circle 1905-1916:

Year	Membership	Assets
1905	6,776	\$32,141.73
1906	8,840	42,047.44
1907	14,158	73,302.92
1908	19,324	110,645.46
1909	31,581	187,628.16
1910	38,866	251,080.70
1911	38,295	291,303.57
1912	41,725	371,530.51
1913	45,662	458,798.78
1914	47,817	553,257.79
1915	49,913	629,944.32
1916	52,000	634,658.80

The organization is managed by an executive committee of 30, divided into five sub-committees, on Benefits, Education, Grievances, Office, and Sanatorium, each composed of five members. All officers and committeemen are elected by referendum vote of the entire membership. The office of the Workmen's Circle is at 175 East Broadway, New York City.

The officers for the current year are:

Ab. Epstein, President; Sh. Bulgatch, Vice President; Max Perlowitch, Treasurer; Joseph Baskin, Acting Secretary; Meyer London, Legal Adviser.

## WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

This Society was founded by a few dozen of German Socialists most of whom were practically forced out of their native country by the German Government under the so-called Anti-Socialist Laws and who had emigrated to the United States.

It was organized and commenced its business on October 19, 1884, in New York City, incorporated February 13, 1899, under the Laws of the State of New York and is now licensed to do business by the Insurance Departments of seven other States.

The Society has branches in 28 States and one Territory. Its territory of operation is limited to the United States proper. The number of branches at present is 346 and that of its members 52,500 of which more than one-sixth are women.

The main object of the Society's operation is the payment of benefits to its members in cases of disability, caused by sickness or injury and to the members' families in cases of death of the members.

The main conditions of admission are: Only working-men and women are admitted. Examination and recommendation to admission by the society's physician required. Age limit: from 16 to 45 years.

### Assessments.

The monthly assessments are as follows:

For members of the 1st Class.....	\$1.05
For members of the 2nd Class.....	80
For members of the 3rd Class.....	30

### Benefits.

1. Sick and Accident Benefits, payable as follows:

- (a) To members of the first class \$9.00 per week for 40 weeks, and \$4.50 per week for another 40 weeks, \$540.00, or 80 weeks for whole life.
- (b) To members of the second class \$6.00 for 40 weeks and \$3.00 for another 40 weeks, \$360.00 or 80 weeks for whole life.

Payments of assessments for sick benefit ceases with exhaustion of sick benefit account.

2. Death Benefit of \$250.00 uniformly without regard to class, sex, age at entry or occupation is payable to legally entitled beneficiary or beneficiaries after death of member.



The steady growth in membership, the amounts of benefits paid and funds accumulated from the inception of the Society to the close of the year 1915 is best illustrated by the following table:

**Table showing status of the Society at the end of years stated in 1 year periods.**

At end of year	No. of Members		Amount of Benefit paid		Amount saved in Cash Reserve
	Men	Women	Sick and Accident	Death	
1885	116	....	\$525.90	\$150.00	\$.....
1890	2,919	252	35,014.57	3,600.00	\$6,062.57
1895	10,992	1,924	310,846.07	75,581.00	35,265.38
1900	21,616	4,123	1,002,398.32	253,731.35	89,773.35
1905	28,470	5,912	1,962,960.82	587,740.96	220,323.38
1910	37,743	7,524	3,236,004.12	1,087,845.77	438,501.72
1915	43,650	8,347	4,876,761.11	1,762,706.87	865,200.00

Even though it was founded by Socialists, the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund can not rightly be called a socialist organization. Still it is of a strong socialist bent of mind and almost all of its individual branches are connected with the labor movement. Their meetings are open for the Socialist propaganda, they contribute liberally towards the strike funds of the big national strikes. Many thousands of dollars have been donated for the assistance of the Socialist press and the socialist propaganda out of their local funds. Many a socialist has been recruited in the meetings of the Branches of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund and almost all over, the socialist element is dominating in the administration of this Society.

## THE LABOR SECRETARIAT.

By S. JOHN BLOCK.

The Labor Secretariat of New York City is a federation of labor unions, organized to protect the legal rights of the unions and of their members and the wives and minor children of the members. For this purpose it employs a lawyer whose services are at the command of the unions and their members and families. The organization is managed by the unions through a board of delegates and a board of directors.

The Labor Secretariat was organized in March, 1901, and it has rendered great and useful service for many labor unions and their members. It was founded upon the principle of co-operation and only through co-operation is it possible for the unions to secure continuous legal protection for themselves and their members.

Cost of membership in the Labor Secretariat is five cents per month or sixty cents per year for every member of each affiliated union. A part of the membership dues is paid to the attorney for his services and the remainder is used to defray disbursements and other necessary expenses, no charge whatsoever being made to the individual who requires the services of the attorney for the Labor Secretariat.

The important matters in which labor unions and their members constantly require a lawyer's services include the following: Matters pertaining to union organization and agitation; collection of wages and law suits to recover same; defending actions for rent wrongfully claimed by landlords; preparing and enforcing agreements made with employers; defending injunction suits; defending men charged with criminal acts during strikes, such as assault, boycotting, picketing, etc.; registering union labels and prosecuting those who counterfeit such labels; preparing labor bills to be submitted to the legislature; accident cases; preparing notices and other papers in connection with claims under Workmen's Compensation Law, and appearing before State Industrial Commission on behalf of claimants and prosecuting or defending appeals from decisions of said Commission; and general matters requiring legal service.

It is especially important that the unions protect their members in connection with claims under the Workmen's Compensation Law. In view of the recent amendments to the law, permitting direct settlements of claims by employers and their insurance companies, the unions need an experienced lawyer, in sympathy with labor, to safeguard the interests of their members.

In all cases in which money is collected for members on claims for wages or for personal injuries under the Workmen's Compensation Law, the member receives the full amount collected, no deduction being made for lawyer's fees or disbursements. In such accident cases as are not covered by the Workmen's Compensation Law the attorney may retain twenty per cent. of the amount recovered, the usual charge of attorneys for such services being from one-third to one-half of the amount recovered.

The Labor Secretariat has, through its attorney, gained many important legal victories for the unions and their members in a variety of cases in which the unions and their members were vitally interested.

The present membership of the Labor Secretariat consists of about forty local unions in the following trades: Carpenters, bricklayers, stationary engineers, butchers, fur workers, diamond workers, bakers, janitors and superintendents of buildings, brewers, beer-wagon drivers, beer bottlers, carriage, wagon and automobile workers, painters, stationary firemen, and others.

## LABOR TRIALS.

## THE WOMEN'S GARMENT WORKERS' CASE.

One of the most unique and far-reaching criminal prosecutions against organized labor in this country was that undertaken against the leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in 1915.

The prosecution was engineered by a notorious gang of professional strike and law breakers, who had been brought into the industry by a group of unscrupulous employers during a strike in 1913, and who had infested it ever since. Failing to destroy the Union by the usual methods of strike breaking, the resourceful heads of the strike breaking agency devised the expedient of organizing an alleged rival "union." They had the audacity of calling their outfit "International Ladies Garment Workers Union of the World," thus appropriating the name of the regular organization of workers in the women's garment trade. An injunction was immediately obtained against the use of the misleading name. Checked in this move the leaders of the gang hit upon another and even more desperate plan to destroy the Union. By the unlimited use of perjured testimony they fabricated a series of criminal cases against some of the most active officers and members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The blow was planned with diabolical cunning. Wholesale charges of heinous crimes against the most responsible leaders of the International would naturally tend to discredit the entire organization; a possible conviction would demoralize its ranks, and a costly defense would drain its treasury.

Accepting the clumsy fabrication of the notorious scab agents and supplementing them with the alleged confessions of one of New York's most notorious gang leaders, the district attorney secured indictments against twenty-four officers and members of the Union, charging them with a variety of serious crimes, from extortion and riot to murder in the first degree.

The charge of murder involved eight defendants: Morris Sigman, then the General Secretary-Treasurer of the International; Saul Metz, Vice-President; Julius Woolf, one of the most active officials of the Cloakmakers' Union; Morris Stupnicker, Abraham Weidiger, Max D. Singer, Isidore Ashpitz and Louis Holzer. It was based upon what was probably an accidental death of a repentant strike breaker back in 1910. The "evidence" was wholly furnished by the ring above referred to, and was so fantastic and contradictory, that it seemed almost incredible that a prosecuting officer would place eight men of unblemished records on trial for their lives on the strength of it. But the District Attorney

of the County of New York resorted to every known device to secure a conviction.

The attorneys for the accused labor leaders, Morris Hillquit, Judge William Olcott, Abraham Levy and Judge Henry W. Unger, demolished the case of the prosecution with heavy blows, clearly established the innocence of the defendants and brilliantly vindicated the principles and methods of trade unionism. The opening address of Morris Hillquit was a classic defense of the principles, methods and achievements of organized labor. One of the defendants, Louis Holzer, was discharged for lack of evidence even before trial, two others, Vice-President Saul Metz and Brother Julius Woolf, were acquitted on motion of the District Attorney immediately at the close of the case. The jury was out less than two hours and returned a verdict of "not guilty" as to the remaining five defendants. The prosecution aroused tremendous public interest, and stirred the entire labor and Socialist movement all over the country. The victory of the labor leaders was hailed as a triumph for the labor movement and served largely to repair the damage done by the McNamara case.

### CAPLAN AND SCHMIDT CASE.

The prosecution of Caplan and Schmidt for complicity in the destruction of the Los Angeles Times' Building came as an aftermath of the confession of the McNamara Brothers. Mathew Schmidt was tried in 1915 and convicted to life imprisonment. An appeal has been taken to a higher court. The Jury failed to agree in the case of Caplan and a second trial was set for October 16, 1916.

### THE LAWSON CASE.

On Oct. 25, 1913, John Nimmo, a mine guard was killed in an attack upon the tent-colony at Ludlow, Colorado. John Lawson, a Board Member of the United Mine Workers was accused of the alleged murder of Nimmo.

Upon return of the indictment Lawson's attorney filed a plea of abatement claiming that the grand jury had been packed with Coal Company partisans. To this plea, Jesse G. Northcutt, chief attorney for the allied coal companies, who had no standing as a public official, filed a demurrer, setting up that even admitting all the allegations in the plea to be true, they furnished no ground for quashing the indictment, Attorney General Farrar also signed the demurrer. Judge



Butler of Denver held that the plea of abatement was good, and directed the prosecution to answer the charges. This the companies did not care to do. They dismissed the indictment, and filed an "information" again charging Lawson with murder.

Before the case came to trial Granby Hillyer, an attorney for the coal companies who had himself acted against strikers, was appointed judge. Lawson came before him for trial. In a previous case, that of Louis Zancanelli, the right of Judge Hillyer to sit in such cases was challenged. Under the Colorado law, when this is done the judge loses jurisdiction until his rights are investigated, but Hillyer ignored this, and sat in both the Zancanelli and Lawson cases.

Lawson's attorneys filed a motion asking for a bill of particulars stating whether Lawson was charged with having killed Nimmo, or with being an accessory, or a member of a conspiracy. This motion was denied.

A motion was filed to set aside the panel of jurymen on the ground of prejudice. This motion was also denied. The jury was drawn by the sheriff, contrary to the usual procedure.

The evidence against Lawson came entirely from two mine guards, one an ex-forgery, and one a blackmailer. They testified to having seen Lawson on the firing line. Both admitted grudges against Lawson. The charge of the judge to the jury was unfair. While the jury was out Judge Hillyer sent a bailiff to the jurymen with the threat that they would secure no food till an agreement was reached. Juror Hall, holding out for Lawson was also told, falsely, that his wife was dying. Under these circumstances the jury found Lawson guilty.

While the Supreme Court was still considering Hillyer's right of jurisdiction, Hillyer sentenced Lawson to life imprisonment at hard labor.

Later Hillyer was debarred from sitting in any more cases growing out of the strike. Lawson was freed on bail pending the adjustment of his case by the Supreme Court of Colorado.

The whole case shows a deplorable collusion between the coal companies and the officials of the State of Colorado. A more flagrant miscarriage of justice can scarcely be quoted.

### THE QUINLAN CASE.

In 1914, Patrick Quinlan was convicted in Paterson, N. J., of having incited a riot, during the silk-workers' strike of 1913, although the prepondering weight of evidence taken at the trial showed that he had not even spoken at the meeting

at which the 'incendiary' utterances were alleged to have been made. He was sentenced to the State Prison for a period of two to seven years.

On March 15, 1915, Attorney Carless presented a petition signed by 21,000 citizens of New Jersey, to Judge Klenert, requesting Quinlan's release on the ground of his innocence, and ill-health. Judge Klenert reserved decision pending the decision of the Pardon Board which was then considering Quinlan's request for a parole. On April 2, 1915, the Pardon Board decided not to grant a parole.

In May Quinlan addressed a letter to President Wilson, reviewing his case, and requesting an investigation.

Judge Klenert denied the petition for parole, and President Wilson never acted in the matter. Quinlan is still in prison.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, arrested at the same time, and tried with substantially the same evidence against her was acquitted by a jury drawn from another county. The Quinlan case has every ear-mark of special persecution, instead of legal prosecution.

## STRIKES.

BY CHESTER M. WRIGHT.

### ROOSEVELT.

While the United States Commission on Industrial Relations was in session in New York City a strike broke out among 700 employes of the William and Clark plant of the American Agricultural Fertilizer Chemical Company at Chrome, N. J. On January 19, 1915, strike guards employed by the company fired into a gathering of strikers, killing two and wounding eighteen, three of them seriously. One of the men killed was found to have six bullets in his body.

The men were organized into the Chemical Workers Union of the American Federation of Labor. Immediately after the shooting appeals for help were sent to the American Federation of Labor and Congressman Meyer London, and a request was sent to the United States Commission on Industrial Relations asking for an immediate investigation of the strike. On the following day 31 deputy sheriffs were arrested, charged with murder in the first degree, and held without bail.

On this day it was shown also that the strikers who had been fired upon were unarmed. The strike guards had been furnished by Sheriff Houghton, and most of them were unknown to him when they were engaged. Mayor Hermon, of Chrome, was openly sympathetic with the strikers, and maintained that attitude throughout the strike.

Eventually the strikers returned to work, having gained

an increase in wages of approximately 20 cents a day. Before the strike the wages had averaged \$1.60 a day. The work was of the hardest kind, performed under the most adverse conditions. The strike, too, came at a time when unemployment throughout the country was intense. The immediate cause of the strike was ■ reduction in wages to \$1.60 from \$2.00 a day. Perhaps the whole psychology created by the action of the company can be summed up no better than in the words of one of the strikers, who testified later on before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations. He said:

"For three years I work all the week and every Sunday, too. My wife, she take in washing. We have five children. I am ■ Polak and I don't drink, chew, just smoke a pipe. My name is Antonio Wiater, and I work at Liebig's before the strike. They pay \$2. Then the boss say 'I pay you \$1.60'—then we strike."

One of the most significant facts brought to light during the strike was the fact that the Rockefeller Foundation was the owner of \$500,000 worth of stock in the American Agricultural Fertilizer Chemical Company, which owned the plant at Chrome where the strike took place. It was clearly shown that Rockefeller dominated the policy of the plant, and this policy, with its resulting violence, bloodshed, and death, was singularly in accord with that in force in other Rockefeller dominated plants that impressed themselves on history during the year, notably the Rockefeller oil works at Bayonne, N. J., and the Rockefeller mining interests in Colorado.

Five months later nine of ten deputy sheriffs indicted for first degree murder were found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced by Justice J. J. Berger to prison terms from two to ten years each. The tenth deputy was acquitted.

### BAYONNE.

Strikes of 1915 seem to have been uniformly of a dramatic character. Like the strikes in Roosevelt and Youngstown, the strike of 5,000 employes of the Standard Oil Company in Bayonne, N. J., was marked by violence of a highly sensational nature. The strike began about July 18, but it was not until July 20 that public notice was really directed to it. On that day the company brought in a detachment of guards, who had seen duty in the strike at Roosevelt, and also brought a number of strikebreakers into the plant.

On that day the police first began the use of guns, and a volley of several hundred bullets was fired close to the heads of the strikers. In a clash between strikers and strike breakers, the latter guarded by police, several strike' breakers emerged the worse for the clash. On the following day,

July 21, there was a much more serious clash between the strikers and the company guards. The guards were hired by the oil company from the Bergoff agency. They had at all times the class co-operation of the Bayonne police force.

In the clash on July 21 one boy striker was killed, eight others received serious wounds, and probably fifty escaped with superficial injuries. The casualties, if any, on the other side never became known, because of the policy adopted by the company of shielding every operation of its guards.

Met with a policy of extreme brutality on the part of the company, the strikers adopted a like policy. When the shooting occurred on July 21, the strikers descended upon the police force with such violence that the police threw up their hands in token of surrender, whereupon they were disarmed by the strikers and allowed to go.

On July 25 the Rockefeller interests were instrumental in securing the suppression of *The New York Call* in Bayonne, and for several days it was impossible to secure copies of that newspaper on the news stands of Bayonne. The paper was taken into Bayonne, however, by roundabout methods, and distributed to the strikers surreptitiously. *The Call* had openly espoused the cause of the strikers, and was regarded as the strongest weapon they had. So intense was the company's resentment against *The Call* that the warden of the Hudson County jail stated over the telephone to a reporter of *The Call* on July 26 that if he came within his jurisdiction he would be arrested.

The strike continued with more or less violence until on July 27 the men voted to return to work, allowing the company 10 days in which to make good on a promise given by it to substantially increase the wages of the workers. Subsequently an increase in wages ranging from 10 to 15 per cent a day was granted to about 16,000 Standard Oil Co. employes in New Jersey. This came after the Bayonne strike had been broken and after there had been sporadic outbreaks or threats of them at several of the Standard Oil Company's other New Jersey plants.

The active force in the breaking of the strike was wielded by Sheriff Kinhead. His fanatic brutality, backed up by the use of all the force that he could muster, was something that the strikers could not meet on equal terms. The strikers, to be sure, used what physical force they could muster for the simple reason that they were driven to it. Their courage was magnificent. On one occasion strikers armed with nothing but their bare fists went up to the very walls of the company's plants, while inside were men armed with modern rifles and revolvers.

A total of five men died as the result of police and strike guard brutality during the course of the strike. Four of the



deaths were caused by bullets fired either by police or company guards. The fifth was caused by a brick that may have been thrown by a striker. The death in this case was that of a man who had refused to strike until the strike had been on for about a week. He had just quit work to join the strikers when he received his fatal injury.

Sheriff Kinkead's conduct during the strike was as erratic as it was vicious. He gave his conduct semblance of fairness, at one time promising to remove all of the Rockefeller gunmen from the plant of the company, and at another time by attempting, at great personal risk, to prevent clashes between his own deputies and the strikers. At still another time Kinkead placed P. Leo Bergoff, head of the private detective agency bearing his name, and Samuel Edwards, superintendent of the Tidewater Oil Refining Company, under arrest. Kinkead placed 99 strike guards under arrest, too, and threw them into jail. But this was not done until the Standard Oil Company had practically no further need for their services.

On the other hand Kinkead practically compelled sympathizers with the strikers to leave Bayonne, and it was established that several persons prominent in Bayonne whose sympathies were with the strikers felt it the part of wisdom to leave the place until the strike had been ended. The grand total of official influence and brutality was emphatically on the side of the employing oil company, and whatever weight seemed to have been thrown against the company either was of no importance or was of a character to justify the assertion that it was done merely for effect on public opinion.

### COPPER MINERS' STRIKE OF ARIZONA.

Shortly after the organization of the copper miners of the camps of Morenci, Clifton and Metcalf, Arizona, in the fall of 1915, the companies issued notices to the men that they must sever connections with their union and sign a blank form to that effect. The men refused and were obliged to strike. An unusual feature of the strike was the fact that the Governor of the State, Geo. W. P. Hunt and the Sheriff of Grenell County showed sympathy with the strikers and kept them from demoralization by the importation of strike-breakers. The men stood solidly and won the strike in March, 1916.

## THE CHICAGO GARMENT WORKERS' STRIKE.

The strike of 20,000 members of the Amalgamated Garment Workers Union in Chicago in the fall of 1915 and winter of 1916 was one of the most spectacular of the year in respect to the unusually brutal treatment given the strikers by strike breakers and police. The workers went on strike for a 25% raise in wages, 48 hours of work weekly and recognition of the union. Over 1,200 arrests were made of strikers and sympathizers and the police brutally handled the women. The public supported the strike to an unusual degree.

## YOUNGSTOWN.

One of the most dramatic strikes of 1916 began very quietly at Youngstown, O., on December 27 of the year previous, and reached its climax in a riot on January 7, 1916, in which the lives of several workers were lost and a vast amount of property completely destroyed.

This strike began when 300 unskilled workers walked out of the plant of the Republic Iron and Steel Company, of Youngstown, demanding advances in pay from 19½ to 25 cents per hour, time and a half for overtime, and double time for Sunday work. The strike spread steadily until at the highest point 13,500 men were idle. Of this number approximately 6,000 were strikers, and the rest were forced into idleness because of the strike.

Working conditions, hours, and wages in this plant had been those usually obtaining in the steel industry. Wages throughout the steel industry were uniform at the time. But little attention had been given the strike outside of Youngstown until the riot of January 7.

It is doubtful whether any authority has been able to establish the exact immediate cause of the riot of that day. The weight of evidence supports the following conclusion:

A mass of parading strikers had congregated at the end of a bridge over which all employes had to pass in going to and coming from the plant of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company. At the approach to the bridge a number of company guards were stationed. At least two of these guards were members of the State militia, but serving as guards in a private capacity. A stone or other missile seems to have been thrown by some person in the crowd, either a striker or a sympathizer, at one of the guards. J. M. Woltz, chief of the company's forces of guards, fired a shot at the strikers, whereupon there was a general fusillade from all of the guards.

Following this shooting there was an evening of wild rioting. One of the features that cannot be overlooked in connection with the rioting is that the rioters were given

immense quantities of the cheapest kind of liquor procurable. This liquor was an ale compound, which is an adulterated ale. Arrests were made by the score. The jails were filled, and during one day one of the fire houses also was filled with prisoners. The State militia was called out, and all persons were kept outside the military lines except those who could procure a pass from the commanding officer.

When it came to disposing of those who had been arrested in the most summary fashion, and whose homes had been searched without warrant, the usual railroading process was resorted to. Strikers undefended by counsel and permitted to present their own case briefly if at all through an interpreter, were given thirty day terms by the dozen.

The living conditions, the cost of living, and the wages paid, together with the conditions under which they were arranged, formed one of the most complete economic backgrounds for a tremendous upheaval of labor that has ever been found in any industry. While there were rumors of outside influences, said to have had their foundation in war conditions, no intelligent investigator questioned the true economic background of the striker. It was agreed that the men had been driven to revolt by unbearable conditions, and by wages that did not permit an acceptable standard of living.

As a result of the strike wages were raised, hour men getting an advance of from 2 to 4 cents an hour. Company officials claim that the increase was approximately 10 per cent. throughout the plant. However, it must be taken into consideration that a year previous there had been a 9 per cent. reduction, so that the increase won by the strike but little more than restored the standard that had prevailed prior to the reduction of the year previous.

It is noteworthy, however, that the increase forced by the strikers in Youngstown spread to the entire steel industry, the evident reason being that the industry in the midst of an unprecedented rush of war orders, feared to face the possibility of a similar upheaval on a scale that might envelope and paralyze the entire industry.

There was following this strike a most unusual anticlimax. The grand jury was impannelled while the strike still was in progress, to determine the responsibility for the deaths and property destruction that had occurred. Contrary to all precedent, this grand jury indicted President Campbell, Elbert H. Gary, president of the United States Steel Corporation, and the following companies: Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, Youngstown Iron and Steel Company, United States Steel Corporation, and the Carnegie Steel Company. A total of 113 corporations and officers were indicted. They were charged with violation of the Valentine

anti-trust act, a State law, and with conspiracy to keep down wages of common laborers.

With this indictment the grand jury returned censure for Mayor Cunningham of East Youngstown, six members of the East Youngstown Council, and the police force. Mayor Cunningham and the officials were characterized as "inefficient," and "unworthy to hold office."

The report of the grand jury charged that the riot was precipitated by acts of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company. In part the language of the grand jury report follows:

"While one shot was fired from one of the mob assembled around the gate of the tube company, the shots which precipitated the extreme acts of violence, lawlessness and crime which were committed January 7 were shots fired by the guards of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company.

"We have been unable to find any proof of any direct connection with any foreign government and any influence brought to bear on the rioters to commit the various acts of crime.

"We find that there is an underlying cause, not only of the strike and of the dissatisfaction prevailing among the men prior to the strike, but of the riot itself, a cause which will be shown upon the trial of some of the corporations and individuals against whom charges have been made by this jury."

The action of the grand jury, however, was of no practical avail. Judge W. H. Anderson dismissed the indictments upon representations, made by counsel for the defendants.

The only wholesome result was that the action of the grand jury in the steel companies and their officials threw upon them the blame and removed it from the workers upon whom blame usually is placed, in such cases.

The strike on the whole was one of the most dramatic that the country has known. The complete destruction of so much property, the remarkable solidarity of unorganized workers, and the indictment of company officials as responsible for the result of low wages and unendurable conditions, were features that stamped it as one of most unusual qualities, and worth deep study.

## STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1915.

From Monthly Review of the Bureau of Labor Statistics,  
April, 1916, pp. 13-18.

The so-called munitions strikes attracted special attention in 1915. These strikes started in Bridgeport, Conn.,



during the latter part of July, and spread rapidly to Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and other States where metal goods are manufactured. They consisted generally of a demand for a shorter working-day without reduction of wages, and in some cases the demand was for increased wages, though the strikers rarely got all the increase asked for.

The strikes in the clothing industry in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Chicago involved a large number of strikers, but their duration was comparatively short, except in Chicago where the strike lasted for about three months and involved from 6,000 to 25,000 people.

Other strikes attracting wide attention were those in the building trades in Chicago from April to July, which practically paralyzed the building industry of that city for the time; the oil and chemical strikes in Elizabeth, N. J., and neighboring cities during the summer, which, though short, were accompanied with rioting and loss of life; the street-car strike in Chicago in June; and the strike of the silver-workers in Connecticut in October, which had not been settled at the close of the year. Though the long-continued coal strike in Colorado was brought to an end just before the opening of the year, the attention of the public continued to be directed to it through the efforts made by the mine owners to settle the many questions that had not been finally considered at the termination of the strike. The coal strikes in the middle west were settled late in the fall of 1914 and early in 1915, with the exception of the eastern Ohio strikes, which were not settled until May. The copper mine strike in Arizona was settled just after the close of the year.

The causes of strikes and lockouts during the year were numerous. In few cases was the cause confined to one matter in dispute. In the following table an effort has been made to show the principal cause of the strikes tabulated, though this has been difficult in many cases on account of the indefinite character of the information available.

### Number of Strikes and Lockouts, by Causes, 1915.

Matter of dispute	Strikes	Lockouts
Increase of wages .....	286	12
Decrease of wages .....	90	10
Nonpayment of wages .....	10	1
Increase of hours .....	7	..
Decrease of hours .....	67	7
Wages and hours .....	133	2
General conditions .....	35	4
Conditions and wages .....	28	1
Conditions and hours .....	6	..
Conditions, wages, and hours .....	11	1
Recognition of the union .....	37	15
Recognition and wages .....	26	1
Recognition and hours .....	6	..
Recognition, wages, and hours .....	10	1

For organizing .....	..	12
For open or closed shop .....	20	12
Discharge of foreman wanted .....	11	..
Because of discharge of union men.....	60	13
Because of employment of non-union men	40	5
Discrimination .....	8	..
Sympathetic .....	9	1
Jurisdictional .....	25	..
Miscellaneous .....	113	22
Not reported .....	208	39
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>1,246</b>	<b>159</b>

### Results of Strikes and Lockouts, 1915.

Result	Strikes	Lockouts
Won .....	164	16
Compromised .....	273	30
Lost .....	128	17
Employees returned, pending arbitration	28	2
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>593</b>	<b>65</b>
Pending .....	140	31
Not reported .....	513	63
<b>Grand total .....</b>	<b>1,246</b>	<b>159</b>

## THE "PROTOCOL" IN THE NEEDLE INDUSTRY.

BY MORRIS HILLQUIT.

One of the most interesting recent experiments in the adjustment of labor disputes is that represented by what is generally known as the Protocol System in the garment industry. The system derives its name from the collective agreement made between the Cloak Makers' Union of New York with an association of employers on September 2nd, 1910. The agreement, formally designated "Protocol of Peace," was adopted at the conclusion of a long and embittered strike. It was drafted with great care and with the aid of several eminent students of social problems, prominent among whom was Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, now Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. It was a unique instrument in the labor movement of the country. Essentially it was a collective agreement between an association of employers and a union of workers, regulating hours of labor, overtime-work, holidays, week-wages, methods of adjusting piece rates and other shop conditions. The novelty of the arrangements consisted mainly in the attempt to abolish all struggles between the individual employer and his workers and to substitute for them a peaceful method of adjusting disputes. To this end the workers surrendered their right to call shop strikes for any grievance whatsoever, and the Union bound itself to order its members back to work in all cases in which such shop strikes would break out.

In return for this surrender of their most effective

weapon, the workers were promised peaceful, fair and speedy adjustments of all their grievances. To secure such adjustments an elaborate joint machinery was devised, consisting of Chief Clerks with numerous staffs of assistants to investigate and adjust grievances, a Grievance Board, and subsequently a Committee on Immediate Action, to pass upon disputed cases, and finally a Board of Arbitration, acting as the supreme tribunal in the industry and vested with judicial and legislative powers.

It is this joint machinery, which constitutes the distinguishing feature of a **Protocol**, as the arrangement has come to be generally known.

The "Protocol system" seemed to be well adapted to the peculiarities of the needle industries with their highly seasonal character, their irregular workings and countless daily problems and shop disputes. Within the first few years after its adoption in the New York cloak trade the system spread to a number of kindred trades. Collective agreements generally patterned after the "Peace Protocol" were adopted by associations of employers and unions of the workers in the various branches of the garment trade in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis and other centers of the tailoring industry. At the beginning of 1916, no less than 150,000 workers operated under that system. The majority of these still adhere to the "protocol" arrangement, but the industry responsible for its introduction, the cloak making industry of New York, has practically abandoned it at a recent date.

So long as the strike of 1910 was still fresh in the memory of the employers the Protocol worked comparatively well, but after a time the workers began to chafe under its operations. The process of adjusting grievances became increasingly slow and uncertain.

The workers began to feel that the Protocol had tied their hands and paralyzed their action and had given them little in return. Countless disputes ensued over the interpretations of certain provisions of the Protocol and several attempts were made to amend the instrument. An acute crisis was reached in the summer of 1915, when the Manufacturers' Association abrogated the Protocol and the Union made active preparations for a general strike. The threatened strike was however for the time being averted by the interposition of Mayor Mitchell, of New York, who, with the consent of both sides, appointed a "Council of Conciliation" charged with the task of composing the differences between the parties. The Council, consisting of Dr. Felix Adler, Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, Prof. George W. Kirchwey, Judge Walter C. Noyes, City Chamberlain Henry Bruere and Charles L. Bernheimer, Chairman of the Board of Arbitration of the

New York Chamber of Commerce, made a thorough investigation of the problems confronting the industry, and after twenty-three sessions, drafted an instrument in the shape of an amended protocol, which both parties accepted. But the new agreement failed to allay the irritation in both camps, and the long-deferred fight in the industry broke out violently in the shape of a combined lock-out and strike in April, 1916.

The strike lasted fourteen weeks, and resulted in a general increase of wages, a reduction of hours, and the adoption of an agreement on entirely new lines.

The principal distinction between the present agreement and its predecessors consists in the machinery for the adjustment of grievances. The former joint organs for the settlement of complaints, such as Chief Clerks, Committee on Immediate Action and Board of Arbitration or Council of Conciliation, are abolished. The present procedure is very simple. All complaints of the workers are investigated by the Union itself. If substantiated on such investigation they are presented to the Association, which has twenty-four hours within which to remedy the grievance. If the action of the Association is satisfactory to the Union, that settles the controversy; if not, the Union is free to secure redress by its own methods—it is free to call shop strikes, whenever and wherever such strikes seem to it justified and expedient. The special feature of the "Protocol" arrangement is thus eliminated, and the ordinary collective trade agreement between a labor union and an employers' association is adopted. The Union is deprived of the "industrial court" as an instrument for righting the complaints of its members, but on the other hand it is freed from the tutelage of the employers, and has had restored to it the most potent weapon of trade unionism, which has been withheld from it for six years—the right to strike in order to redress grievances.

It would be idle to speculate whether the "Protocol" arrangement with its elaborate machinery is superior or inferior to the system of the simple trade agreement. Such questions cannot be answered in the abstract, but depend upon the special circumstances and conditions of each case. The "Protocol" was probably a very suitable instrument for the cloak industry of New York in 1910, when the Union was new and untrained. To-day the Union no longer requires the artificial stimulant of an elaborate outside machinery.

On the other hand a "Protocol" arrangement may still be very serviceable in industries and places in which our organizations are new and weak or in industries mainly composed of women and subject to frequent changes of the working force. At this time the two extremes are represented

by the agreement of the New York Cloakmakers and the Protocol of the New York Dress and Waist Makers. One accords the utmost freedom of action to employers and workers, the other represents the most elaborate arrangement of joint machinery for peaceful adjustment of difficulties and scientific solution of trade problems. Both are new, both are on trial, and the labor movement will watch their workings with close attention.

### HOURS OF LABOR.

From Monthly Review of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Feb., 1916, p. 37.

#### Reduction of Hours Due to Trade-Union Activity.

Workers in many firms in the machine trades have decreased their hours of labor to 8 hours per day without appealing to the legislatures. In most cases a reduction of seven hours a week was involved.

Connecticut, 28 firms; Delaware, 1; Illinois, 3; Louisiana, 1; Maryland, 2; Massachusetts, 24; Michigan, 2; New Jersey, 28; New York, 15; Ohio, 16; Pennsylvania, 1; Rhode Island, 1; Wisconsin, 1. Total, 127.

Other, smaller, reductions are as follows:

Forty-nine and one-half hours per week: Ohio, 4 firms.

Fifty hours per week: Connecticut, 2 firms; New Jersey, 2; New York, 1.

Fifty-four hours per week: Connecticut, 2 firms; Pennsylvania, 1; Massachusetts, 5; Ohio, 3.

#### A. F. of L. Data.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor reported to the last annual convention that the eight-hour day generally prevailed in the following industries:

Carpenters and Joiners, Coal Miners, Typographical Printers, Cigarmakers, Granite Cutters, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, Plasterers, Plumbers and Steamfitters, Lathers, Tile Layers, Composition Roofers, Railroad Telegraphers, Stone Cutters, Marble Workers, Sheet Metal Workers, Elevator Constructors, Bookbinders, Hodcarriers and Building Laborers, Brick, Tile and Terracotta Workers, Cement Workers, Compressed Air Workers, Steam Engineers (in Building Construction), Pavers, Rammermen, Flagg Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, Paving Cutters, Plate Printers, Printing Pressmen, Stereotypers and Electrotypers, Tunnel and Subway Constructors, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Asbestos Workers, Quarry Workers, Metal Miners, Flint Glass Workers, Slate and Tile Roofers, Cutting Die and Cutter Makers, Stationary Firemen, Papermakers, Photo-Engravers, Powder and High Explosive Workers, Bricklayers.



## PART TWO.

# LABOR AND THE LAW

## LABOR LEGISLATION IN 1915.

Abridged from Bulletin of U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics,  
Whole No. 186, December, 1916.

During 1915 labor legislation was enacted in all states which had sessions except Louisiana and Virginia. No session was held in Kentucky, Maryland, or Mississippi. The United States Congress did not enact any legislation affecting labor in the District of Columbia.

Laws relating to **contract of employment** were passed in California, Indiana, Nevada, Wisconsin, Massachusetts (action for damages by workmen against employers failing to give notice of strikes in advertisements for labor), Iowa, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin (in regard to apprenticeship).

The **Lafollette Bill** passed by Congress deals with seamen's conditions. It divides the crew and officers into watches, provides for holiday observance, compels coasting vessels to pay wages within two days, and ocean-going vessels within 24 hours; one-half the amount due must be paid at any port reached if demanded; requires inspection in any foreign port on demand of 1st or 2nd officers or majority of crew. Seventy-five per cent of crew must understand the language in which orders are given, and 65% must be able seamen. Other provisions relate to comfort and convenience of crew. Attachment of wages, and assignments are forbidden. Adequate life-saving equipment is prescribed. Officers are not fellow-servants of crew.

The **examining and licensing of workmen** was the subject of new laws in Connecticut, Vermont, Wisconsin, California, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Michigan, Utah, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Montana, Pennsylvania, Philippine Islands, Florida, Maine, Oklahoma, and New York. Trades affected in one or more of these states included barbers, chauffeurs, electricians, stationary engineers, firemen, engineers of traction engines, seamen, moving picture machine operators, and plumbers.

Laws mainly concerned with limiting **employment on public works** to citizens were passed in Arizona, California, New York, Idaho, Washington, Minnesota, Oregon, Porto Rico and New Hampshire. A federal law dealt with the use of domestic material in the manufacture of ordinances. Hawaii, California and Oregon legislated regarding wages and hours of labor on public works.

The methods and times of **payment of wages**, liability for the payment of wages, liens and other claims on wages were the subject of legislation in many states.

The **hours of labor** were dealt with in Alaska (referendum for general eight hour for all wage-earners successful), Massachusetts, and New York.

**Holidays and rest days** were legislated on in Arizona, Hawaii, Wisconsin, New York, California and Massachusetts.

The **regulation and inspection of factories**, better measures for safety and sanitation, and similar measures for mines, railroads, street railways and steam vessels were dealt with in various states.

**Pensions and retirement funds** for the benefit of public employees received attention and legislative enactments in Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and California.

New laws relating to **labor organizations** were passed in some states. Washington (ch. 181) defines and forbids picketing in labor disputes, including the stationing of watchers, parading, displaying of banners, signs, etc. A referendum has been filed against the act, and it will be inoperative until decided by the election of 1916. California (ch. 487) makes it a misdemeanor to make false representations as to use of union labor, and gives unions the right to register labels and retain the exclusive right of use of the same. Missouri (p. 404) amended the law relative to the use or display of a union card or label without authority from the union. Massachusetts (ch. 62) requires the amounts of deposits made by labor organizations to be reported every five years.

Several states enacted or amended laws regarding **co-operative associations**, some of them making but a slight distinction between co-operative bodies and corporations generally, while in other cases the separation is more complete. Both productive and consumptive associations are provided for, while in most cases reference is made to the distribution of profits, based either on the amount of purchases or on the amount of wages or earnings of the employees, according to the nature of the association.

**Arbitration in labor disputes** came in for attention. Colorado (ch. 180) creates a State Industrial Commission "to do all in its power to promote voluntary arbitration—and to avoid the necessity of resorting to strikes, lockouts, etc." Employer and employee must give thirty days' notice of any intended change affecting wages or hours. Lockouts or strikes prior to or during an investigation by the commission, or by an arbitration board appointed by it, are unlawful, and neither side may make a change in the condition of employment, where a dispute has been made the subject of

arbitration, until such dispute has been finally dealt with. Findings of the commission or of a board of arbitration are not binding unless prior agreement in writing has been made. Findings of the commission are subject to review by the courts on appeal. In Indiana (ch. 118) the governor may appoint boards to adjust labor disputes. In Michigan (ch. 230), the governor appoints the state board; the act applies to railroads, mines and public utilities; other employments come under law and agreement of both parties. If the State Board fails, four arbitrators are chosen, one by employer, one by employees, these two to choose two others; if these four fail, the board may name an umpire.

The civil rights of employees in regard to voting at elections were dealt with by some states. Provision to vote while absent from home was made in California, Nevada, Washington and Wisconsin.

Laws relating to **free public employment offices** and private offices for gain were enacted in Idaho, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Oregon and Illinois. Michigan (No. 37) authorizes not less than five railway conductors, engineers, and officials to form mutual companies for the purpose of insuring themselves against loss of position by discharge or retirement. An initiated measure of the State of Arizona (p. 19) authorizes the State to engage in any work of manufacture or public utility. The business of banking may be engaged in and a State printing establishment may be set up for the printing of school books and doing the State printing. A general appropriation of necessary funds is made.

**Vocational educational laws** were enacted by Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana (applicable to the city of Indianapolis only), Maine, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

## MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION.

BY FLORENCE KELLEY.

The first Minimum Wage Commission in the United States was created by the Massachusetts legislature, in 1911, to study wages of women and minors, and report whether boards should be established to enquire into the need of fixing rates of wages for women and minors in any industry. This 1911 preliminary Commission enquired into the condition of employes in confectionary factories, retail stores and laundries. Its summary follows:

"A large number of women of eighteen years of age and upward are employed at very low wages; it is indisputable that a great part of them are receiving compensation that is inadequate to meet the necessary cost of living."

Following recommendations based upon that enquiry, a permanent State Minimum Wage Commission was created in 1912 with power to establish wage boards (consisting of representatives of employers, employees and the general public), and to publish decrees based upon the findings of such boards after due opportunity is given for public hearings on the findings. The Commission has never had power to prosecute violators of a decree, but merely to publish the names of employers who comply or who disobey.

In Massachusetts decrees are now in force in two industries, brush making and retail stores. They are as follows:

### I. Brush Industry.

(Decree August 15, 1914.)

1. The lowest time wage paid to any experienced female employee in the brush industry shall be 15½ cents an hour.

2. The rate for learners, apprentices and all minors shall be 65 per cent of the minimum, and the period of apprenticeship shall not be more than one year.

3. If in any case a piece rate yields less than the minimum time rate, persons employed under such rate shall be paid not less than 15½ cents an hour.

A re-investigation of the brush industry in June, 1915, completed in September, showed 3 firms (of 29 in the State) refusing to pay the rates to a total of five women.

The total number of women in 16 establishments comparable with those of 1913 had increased from 332 to 334. The minors from 36 to 51. The percentage of women who earned less than \$6 a week was 61.4 in 1913 and 19.8 in 1915. The percentage earning over \$9 had grown from 10.2 to 19.4, showing that wages tended to increase even above the minimum, or in other words, that the minimum does not tend to become the maximum (at 15½ cents an hour the minimum for 54 hours is \$8.37).

The establishment of the minimum wage in the brush industry has thus been followed by a remarkable increase in the earnings of women employed in that industry; the employment of women at ruinously low rates has been stopped; the proportion of women employed at more than the prescribed rate has more than doubled. The number of brush establishments, the total capital invested, the total value of material used, and the total value of product have all increased.

## II. Retail Store Industry.

(Decree of Sept. 15, 1915, in force Jan. 1, 1916.)

1. No experienced female employee of ordinary ability shall be employed in retail stores in Massachusetts at a rate of wages less than \$8.50 a week.

2. No female employee of ordinary ability shall be deemed inexperienced who has been employed in a retail store for one year or more, after reaching the age of eighteen years.

Learners and apprentices may be paid less, but none of ordinary ability, and 18 years of age, at a rate less than \$7 a week, or of 17 years less than \$6 a week; and none other of ordinary ability less than \$5 a week.

This decree was accepted by all retail stores in Massachusetts except one corporation conducting five and ten cent stores.

A decree was to have been published Oct. 1st, 1915, in the confectionary industry. All the preliminary work had been done by the wage board and the Commission when the employers applied to the courts for an injunction to restrain the Commission from further proceedings in the matter. No farther steps have been taken by the Commission.

In the laundry industry a decree was issued July 1st, 1915, effective Sept. 1st, 1915. It has, however, been thrown into the Courts and will doubtless be held in suspense until the U. S. Supreme Court decides the pending Oregon case.

Meanwhile, the Massachusetts Commission has, since its creation, investigated wages in nine industries: brushes, corsets, confectionary, laundries, retail stores, paper boxes, women's clothing, hosiery and knit goods and men's clothing.

In Massachusetts the Commission is required by law to take into consideration the financial condition of the industry.

In Oregon the sole consideration is the health and welfare of women workers. The powers of the Industrial Welfare Commission are broad, relating to hours of work of women, which must not exceed ten in 24 in manufactures, but may be reduced below this limit. The validity of these powers will be determined by the U. S. Supreme Court presumably during the year 1917.

It is an open secret that the National Manufacturers' Association is behind the systematic campaign against minimum wage laws.

The campaign is so far successful that cases are pending in the Courts of Minnesota, Washington and Massachusetts



besides the famous Oregon case. This tends to hold in abeyance the movement in the States enumerated in the accompanying table.

If the Oregon case should be decided adversely, and legislation of this kind held repugnant to the U. S. Constitution, the National Consumers' League stands publicly pledged to inaugurate and carry to success a movement to change the Constitution.

### Minimum Wage Commissions.

<u>State</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Address</u>
Arkansas .....	1915	Minimum Wage Commission	Little Rock
California .....	1913	Industrial Welfare Commission	San Francisco
Colorado .....	1913	State Wage Board	Denver
Connecticut .....	1914	Enquiry	
Idaho .....	1915	Enquiry	Boise
Indiana .....	1913	Enquiry	
Kansas .....	1915	Industrial Welfare Commission	Topeka
Massachusetts ..	1912	Minimum Wage Commission	Boston
Michigan .....	1913	Enquiry	
Minnesota .....	1913	Minimum Wage Commission	St. Paul
Missouri .....	1914	Enquiry	
Nebraska .....	1913	Minimum Wage Commission	
New York .....	1914	Enquiry by State Factories Investigating Commission now succeeded by State Industrial Commission.	
Ohio .....	1913	Industrial Commission	Columbus
Oregon .....	1913	Industrial Welfare Commission	Portland
Utah .....	1913	No Board. Commissioner of Immigration, Labor and Statistics charged with enforcement of law.	
Washington .....	1913	Industrial Welfare Commission	Olympia
Wisconsin .....	1913	Industrial Commission	Madison

## FACTORY INSPECTION.

BY GEORGE M. PRICE.

The extent of legal protection given to workers is determined not by the number of factory laws upon the statute books, but by the number of laws as are properly administered and by the extent to which their provisions are actually enforced.

The first Factory Inspection Department was organized in England in 1833; in France in 1874; in Prussia in 1878; in Austria in 1883; in Switzerland in 1877; in Russia in 1882; in Belgium, Netherland and Sweden in 1889; in Portugal and Hungary in 1893; in Italy in 1906; and in Spain in 1907.

In the United States, as in Europe, factory inspection lagged behind factory legislation and years elapsed before it dawned upon legislatures that not only factory laws but provisions for their enforcement were needed. The first attempt at factory inspection was made in Massachusetts in 1886, although as early as in 1842, the local school authorities and truant officers were authorized to enforce certain provisions of the child labor law. The same year, 1886, was also marked by the enactment of a factory inspection law in New York State. In Illinois the Department of Factories and Workshops was only established in 1893; in Pennsylvania provision for inspection of factories was made only in 1899; in Wisconsin in 1883; in Maine in 1887; in New Jersey in 1883; in Rhode Island in 1894; in Indiana in 1887; in Tennessee in 1895; in Delaware in 1897; and in Missouri in 1901.

There are therefore a number of states in which as yet no provision is made for factory inspection and administration of labor laws.

There is no uniformity in the United States either as to the scope and functions of the various labor and factory inspection departments or as to their form of organization, or even to their designation. Some of them are called Bureau of Labor Statistics, others Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor, Factory Inspection Department, Department of Factory Inspection, Industrial Commission, etc.

Within the last few years there is noticeable a distinct tendency towards an important change in the powers delegated by legislatures to the departments and bureaus in charge of factory inspection and, consequently, in the forms of organization of these enforcing bodies. As long as labor legislation was limited to the several provisions prohibiting and restricting child and female labor and to making general provisions for the safety and sanitation of factories, the legislatures in each state were enabled to pass general laws

on these subjects and empower an executive officer, of whatever designation, to enforce these general laws. But when the demand arose for more specific legislation and rules and regulations as to safety and health requiring a more specialized application of the law, making distinction between one industry and another, and between various industrial plants, machinery, etc.,—it became impossible to embrace all the various requirements for the safety and protection of workers in one joint legislative enactment. It became imperative for the administrative officers largely to interpret, define and limit the application of the labor law and factory acts, to use judgment in the specific application to different industries and industrial plants, to grant appeals and exceptions, and thus, to exercise not only administrative functions, but also to assert legislative as well as judicial functions which were not intended for them to exercise.

### Industrial Commissions.

Wisconsin was the first state to enact an Industrial Commission law, promulgating a general provision that industries should be made as safe as possible and reasonable, and appointing a Commission to interpret, investigate, rule and regulate, as well as to administer the safety and sanitary conditions of industries in the state. Such broad powers as became necessary could not possibly be delegated to a single executive officer and it became necessary therefore to create a commission exercising legislative and judicial as well as administrative functions.

Other states soon followed and within the last few years Industrial Commissions were created in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, California, Colorado and Ohio.

The creation of Industrial Commissions has also led to enlargement of the scope and functions of these commissions, and, while in most of the states, the Workmen's Compensation, for instance, is still outside of the jurisdiction of the Industrial Commission, New York State has combined the two departments and extended the jurisdiction of the Industrial Commission over Workmen's Compensation as well.

The increase of the functions of Industrial Commissions has also wrought many changes in the character of the personnel. More specialization has become necessary and more expert knowledge is at present needed for an inspector than when his functions were entirely limited to the enforcement of the few simple provisions for children and women. Hence, we see the appointment of medical factory inspectors, of chemical engineers, building and fire protection engineers and

other experts in Industrial Commissions and Factory Inspection Departments.

The number of factory inspectors in each Factory Inspection Department or Industrial Commission depends on the state and the liberality with which the state treats such departments. No figures are available for the number of inspectors in the various states within the last year or two. In a bulletin on the Administration of Labor Laws, issued by the American Association for Labor Legislation in 1913, a list of the states has been given with the number of inspectors in each Factory Inspection Department. The number ranges from 1 in Florida, to 343 in New York; with 44 in Illinois, 53 in Massachusetts, 35 in Michigan and Minnesota, 38 in New Jersey, 76 in Pennsylvania and 53 in Wisconsin.

The method of selection and appointment of the higher officers in the Factory Inspection Departments is still political and mostly without regard to the specific qualifications necessary for the positions. Commissioners, Chief Inspectors and other higher grade inspectors in the departments are still appointed for political reasons, with no secure tenure of office and with a probable change with every incoming and outgoing administration. For the lower grades of inspectors and employees, Civil Service has already been introduced in the larger states, although the methods of examination and appointment are still not the best even in the most important states.

The salaries of the inspectors range from \$900.00 to \$3,500.00 per annum and there is no state which as yet gives a pension for length of service, old age, etc.

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## COURT DECISIONS IN 1915.

COMPILED BY HARRY W. LAIDLER.

Among the most noteworthy cases of the year were the Danbury Hatters' and the *Coppage v. Kansas* case, and the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court affirming the constitutionality of various State laws for shortening the hours of labor for women and providing for compensation for workmen.

The decisions have been divided, following the lead of the U. S. Labor Bureau, into such divisions as "Labor Organizations," "Hours of Labor," "Wages," "Factory Regulations," "Contract of Employment," "Employment Offices," "Restriction of Employment," "Mines," "Railroads," "Workmen's Compensation," "Relief Associations" and "Liability of the Employer for Injuries to Employees." The last named division has been but slightly touched upon in this survey.

## I. Labor Organizations.

The most important decisions handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court under this heading during the year 1915 are undoubtedly the Danbury Hatters and the *Coppage v. Kansas* cases, in the latter of which the court declared **unconstitutional a State statute aimed to prevent an employer from forcing his employee to agree not to join a trade union during his term of service.** These two decisions are discussed elsewhere.

The courts of last resort of Ohio and Oklahoma followed the lead of the Supreme Court in declaring unconstitutional the laws of their respective states which forbade the discharge of employees because they were, or intended to become, members of labor unions.

A particularly reactionary decision, but one which might reasonably be expected to follow the passage of the reactionary State statute, was handed down by an Alabama court, declaring **peaceful picketing illegal!** The Supreme Court of the D. of C., on the other hand, refused to grant an injunction against such picketing.

The questionable procedure of declaring a labor leader in contempt of court for failing to obey an injunction which the higher court admitted was violative of fundamental constitutional rights, was indulged in by a Federal Court in a West Virginia case.

Injunctions were issued by a New Jersey court to prevent the fruition of a boycott planned against a firm which had obtained new workers, following a strike, and had continued business as formerly. The cessation of objectionable acts by strikers was declared by another court to be suffi-



cient to warrant the court in refusing to grant an injunction.

There was one kidnapping case of importance during the year in which the Minnesota court decided against the thugs who had kidnapped a labor leader.

A **closed shop agreement** was held legal by the Supreme Court of New York (which is not, however, the court of last resort in this state), and a **blacklist**, illegal by the U. S. District Court. Another case under the general heading was that in which the court compelled the union to reinstate a member, although the union was incorporated outside of the state.

(a) **STRIKES, PICKETING AND KIDNAPPING**—A judgment of conviction against those engaged in kidnapping and deporting a miner from another State without legal authority was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Minnesota in the case of *State v. Payne* (149 N. W., 945). The miner in question, Sjogren, a resident of Michigan, had gone to Crosby, Minnesota, to work in the mines, and during a strike had been selected a member of the strike committee to wait on the superintendent. One night he was forced at the point of the revolver to go into an automobile, was driven to another town and told that unless he got out of the State he "would be shot full of holes." He was then forced to purchase a ticket to Duluth, Minn. The court held that the lower court was justified in declaring the guilt of two of the men involved.

In *Stoner v. Robert* (43 Wash. Law Rep., 437), the Supreme Court of the D. of C. refused to grant an injunction against peaceful picketing of saloons, which continued to sell beer manufactured by breweries against which a strike and boycott had been declared.

That "peaceful interference" with the business of a firm by means of picketing is illegal, and that there can be, perhaps, in the eyes of the legislature no such thing as peaceful picketing or peaceful persuasion was the opinion of the Supreme Court of Alabama, called on to construe a state law in *Hardie-Tynes Manufacturing Co. v. Cruse* (66 So. 657). The decision is utterly unrepresentative of those handed down in previous years by the courts of the vast majority of states, which hold that picketing, when accompanied by mere peaceful persuasion, is legal, and that only when intimidation, coercion or violence appears is it deemed illegal.

(b) **INJUNCTIONS, BOYCOTTS**—The cessation of objectionable acts was held by the Washington Supreme Court to be sufficient reason for declining to issue an injunction against strikers who had previously been declared guilty of threats and assaults, in the case of the *Commercial Bind-*

ing and Printing Co. v. Tacoma Typographical Union, (147 Pac. 1143).

In the case of *A. Fink & Son v. Butchers' Union* (95 Atl. 182), the Court of Chancery of New Jersey issued an injunction to prevent the consummation of a boycott planned against a firm whose workers had struck, but which was now continuing business, having filled the places of the workmen. The boycott was held to be a malicious conspiracy to do injury, not to benefit the union.

(c) CONTEMPT—Mr. Schwartz, a store keeper in the vicinity of a mine in West Virginia where a strike was going on, had allowed the striking miners to hold meetings in his store, though he had been forbidden by a sweeping injunction to aid or abet the striking employees in any way. The court held (*Schwartz v. U. S.*, 217 Fed. 866) that, although the injunction order was too broad, and constituted an invasion of the rights of a citizen to promote a labor union by persuasion and other peaceful means, and although the order would have been modified by the higher courts had an action been brought, the defendant must be held guilty of contempt in disobeying the order, since he had previously waived all objections thereto.

(d) COLLECTIVE AND CLOSED-SHOP AGREEMENTS, BLACKLISTS—That a closed shop agreement leading to the discharge of a workman not a member of the union did not make the union liable in damages to the discharged workman, was the opinion of the Supreme Court of New York in *Cusumano v. Schlessinger* (152 N. Y., Supp. 1081).

In *Underwood v. Texas and Pacific Ry. Co.* (178 S.W. 38), the Court of Civil Appeals of Texas held that an agreement between a company and a union, whereby the company was to give preference to union men did not constitute a monopoly and was not otherwise against public policy. The case was brought to court by a rival union.

The U. S. District Court, Southern District, N. Y., held in *Marinelli v. United Booking Offices of America* (227 Fed., 165) that a black-list of theatrical performers conducted by two booking companies, which required the theatres with which they entered into contract not to employ performers, who were not booked by defendants, and which refused to deal with other theatres who used such performers, was in contravention of the Sherman Anti-Trust law as in restraint of trade.

(e) MEMBERSHIP, DISCRIMINATION AGAINST UNION MEN—In *People ex. rel. Solomon v. Brotherhood of Painters* (155 N. Y. Supp. 438), the Supreme Court of

New York granted restitution of membership to a workman who had been expelled from an association incorporated outside of the state, the Court holding that its extra territorial incorporation did not place it outside the powers of the State courts. Damages were also granted.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the *Coppage v. Kansas* case was accepted as controlling in the cases of *Jackson v. Berger* (110 N. E. 732), decided by the Supreme Court of Ohio, and in *Bemis v. State* (152 Pac. 456), decided by the Court of Appeals of Oklahoma. The judges declared unconstitutional the efforts of the legislatures to secure to employees their right to membership in labor organizations by forbidding their discharge for being or becoming members of such unions.

## II. Hours of Labor.

The year 1915 in the decisions under this head was chiefly noteworthy for the numerous decisions of the Supreme Court of the U. S., the Federal and State courts reaffirming the constitutionality of legislation for shortening the hours of labor for women. Sunday laws restricting labor were also upheld. Less encouraging were the decisions regarding hours for men, but they were of rather restricted application.

(a) GENERAL LAWS—A novel statute in Utah fixing six o'clock as the closing hour for mercantile establishments in cities of over 10,000 with certain exceptions was declared unconstitutional in *Saville v. Corless* (151 Pac. 51) by the Supreme Court of that State on the ground that the statute was not a police measure and that it constituted special legislation. A similar fate befell a statute in Louisiana which fixed the hours of stationary firemen at eight per day in cities of over 50,000 inhabitants (*State v. Legendre*, 70 So. 70). In an Oregon decision on the 10 hour law (*State v. Young*, 145 Pac. 647), ordinary repair work was not considered by the court as included in the exceptions in the act classed under "necessary repairs."

(b) WOMEN—The constitutionality of laws regarding hours of work for women was many times reaffirmed. In *Miller v. Wilson* (35 Sup. Ct. 342), the Supreme Court of the U. S. sustained as unconstitutional the eight hour law of California for women, the case in hand being that of a chambermaid employed in a hotel. In *Bosley v. McLaughlin* (35 Sup. Ct. 345), a similar decision was reached by the same court in regard to employees in a hospital. Other decisions were as follows:

*Earnshaw v. Newman* (43 Wash. Law Rep. 198, Sup. Ct. D. of C.)—limiting labor to 10 hours, six days a week.

*Hotchkiss v. D. of C.* (41 Wash. Law Rep. 706, Ct. of App., D. of C.)—law held to include dressmakers, against defendant's claim that he was not conducting a manufacturing establishment.

*Commonwealth v. J. T. Connor Co.* (110 N. E. 301, Sup. Jud. Ct. of Mass.), Massachusetts law fixing eight hour day for women "employed in labor" held to apply to a cashier in a grocery store.

*People v. Chas. Schweinler Press* (108 N. E. 639, Ct. of App., N. Y.)—law forbidding night work for women held constitutional.

*State v. Dominion Hotel* (151 Pac. 958, Sup. Ct. Arizona)—law prescribing eight hour day for women, and making certain apportionments of time, held constitutional.

(c) **RAILROADS**—Many decisions were made during the year regarding the Federal statute fixing the hours of service of railroad employees. They dealt chiefly with those circumstances which may be said to constitute valid excuses for employing workers overtime; with the question as to what class of employees were unaffected by the law; with the problem as to when a railroad office might be said to be open continuously, and whether overtime work should always be reported.

(d) **SUNDAY LABOR**—The constitutionality of statutes of Oregon and New York restricting Sunday labor was proclaimed by the courts of last appeal in these states, in *State v. Nicholls* (151 Pac. 473), and *People v. C. Klinck Packing Co.* (108 N. E. 278). An Indiana Court (*Stellborn v. Board of Commissioners*, 110 N. E. 89), held that the work of an assessor in checking up lists could not be said to be a labor of necessity, and that no payment could be collected for services.

### III. Wages.

The decisions under this head were not of great importance. On the whole they were liberal. A law insisting on cash payments to workers and one directing weighing of coal before screening—passed in the interest of employees—were upheld, while the one law declared unconstitutional was condemned on the ground that it might lead to imprisonment for debt.

(a) **MODE AND TIME OF PAYMENT**—On the ground that the enforcement of the law might lead to imprisonment for debt, a law of California fixing periods of

wage payments was declared unconstitutional during the year (*Ex Parte Crane*, 145 Pac. 733).

The West Virginia law was upheld which required redemption in cash at full value of scrip or money orders, the orders in this case being payable in merchandise (*Atkins v. Grey Eagle Co.*, 84 S. E. 906).

The Supreme Court of New York, construed the New York Statute requiring weekly payments of wages, declaring what classes of employees were outside of the statute (*People v. Interbor. Rapid Transit Co.*, 154 N. Y. Supp. 627).

In *Trammell v. Victor Manfg. Co.* (86 S. E. 1057), the Supreme Court of No. Carolina held that the law which penalizes a company that fails to give wages to discharged workmen on regular weekly and monthly pay days applies equally to a company the pay days of which are semi-monthly.

(b) BASIS—An Ohio statute prohibiting screening of coal before weighing, in cases where wages are paid according to the weight of the coal mined was declared constitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court in the case of *Rail & River Coal Co. v. Yaple* (35 Sup. Ct. 359).

(c) PREFERENCE—Under this heading several statutes were construed as to when wage debts would be given a preference over other forms. The citations are:

*Central Trust Co. v. George Lueders & Co.*, 221 Fed. 829 U. S. Ct. of App., 6th Dist.; *Blessing v. Blanchard*, 223 Fed. 35, U. S. Circ. Ct. of App., 9th Circ.; *Farnum v. Harrison*, 152 N. Y. Supp. 835, N. Y. Sup. Ct., App. Div.; *Lyons v. Jarnberg*, 150 N. W. 1083, Sup. Ct., Minn.; *Bofferding v. Mengelkoch*, 152 N. W. 135, Sup. Ct. Minn.

#### IV. Factory Regulations.

The necessity of providing accessible fire escapes, guards for dangerous machinery and other equipment required by law was emphasized in a number of the court decisions of the year in regard to factory regulations.

(a) FIRE ESCAPE—That the employer's negligence in failing to provide fire escapes for his tannery constituted liability *per se*, where an employee had been burned to death in the building, was the decision of the court in *Amberg v. Kinley*, (108 N. E. 830, Ct. of App., N. Y.). In *Goetz v. Duffy* (109 N. E. 113, Ct. of App., N. Y.), the court determined the liability of owner of the building, lessee and sublessee for failure to maintain suitable fire escapes. It declared that the case of the owner should go to the jury, as the testimony seemed to indicate that the access to the fire escape had been so obstructed as to render it of no avail in emergency.



(b) GUARDS—The practicability of guarding dangerous machinery was affirmed by the Minnesota court in *Puls v. Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Co.* (150 N. W. 175) and by the New York court in *Ponca v. Wendall & Evans Co.* (151 N. Y. Supp. 257).

(c) INSPECTION—That it was proper to admit testimony that the mill had been inspected by a State factory inspector, for the purpose of relieving the company from charge of negligence in the matter of equipment, was the opinion of Supreme Court of Oklahoma in *Burk v. Hobart & Mill and Elevator Co.* (150 Pac. 458). The failure of an employer to furnish a punch for punching holes in barrel hoops was considered as a basis for liability in the case of *Wiley v. Solway Process Co.* (109 N. E. 606, Ct. of App., N. Y.).

### V. Contract of Employment.

The right of silence was emphasized by the Supreme Court of Texas in a unique decision declaring unconstitutional a Texas law which required that an employer give a discharged worker a true statement of the reason for the discharge. The statute, according to the court, was "violative of the general private right of silence enjoyed in this State by all persons, natural or artificial, from time immemorial."

Of special interest also under this head is the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring an Alabama statute unconstitutional on the ground that it might lead to peonage.

The status of armed guards paid by private companies, the remedies for discharges, etc., are also discussed in numerous cases.

(a) ENFORCEMENT—Under this division the Supreme Court of the United States declared unconstitutional a statute of Alabama authorizing the payment of fines of misdemeanants by one who subsequently accepted the service of the convicted person, under contract to work out fines and costs. The statute was held to be in conflict with the Federal statutes abolishing peonage (*U. S. v. Reynolds*, 35 Sup. Ct. 86).

Two other cases under this heading dealt with workmen convicted of fraudulent contracts, procuring advances and failing to carry out the terms of the contract. They are: *Thomas v. State*, 69 So. 908, Ct. of App., Alabama; *Paschal v. State*, 85 So. 358, Ct. of App., Georgia.

(b) BREACH—Several cases of breach of contract were passed on during the year. In *Koch v. Siff* (154 N. Y. Supp.

223), the N. Y. Supreme Ct. decided that the plaintiff could not recover unearned wages, when he left service with the consent of the employer, on account of his fear of injury from strikers. The court also disallowed the employer's contention that he be privileged to retain the employee's deposit for faithful performance. In *Silbert v. Katz* (151 N. Y. Supp. 510) the employee was held not to be entitled to a return of his deposit, on the showing that he had refused to render the services contracted for, to the employer's injury.

The general principles on which recovery may be had for discharge and the remedies available were announced in *Continental Aid Asso. v. Lee* (85 S. E. 790, Ct. of App. of Georgia). The remedies which he might elect were: (1) He may bring an immediate action for any special injury received from the discharge; (2) he may wait until the expiration of the term for which he was employed, and sue for the entire amount due him under the contract; (3) he may treat the contract as rescinded and seek to recover upon *quantum meruit* the value of the services actually performed.

In *Akron Milling Co. v. Leiter* (107 N. E. 99, App. Ct. of Indiana), it was held that where there is an implied renewal of contract after the expiration of a fixed term, discharge may not be justified upon grounds known to the employer at the time of the implied renewal. Where hiring was for an indefinite period, and the workmen refused to continue labor after having worked continuously for a day and part of the night and were discharged, it was held (*The J. P. Schuh*, 223 Fed. 455, U. S. District Ct.), that the men were entitled to all of the wages earned. In *Halpern v. Langrock Bros.* (153 N. Y. Supp. 985) and *Gabriel v. Opoznauer* (153 N. Y. Supp. 990) employers were held guilty of breach of contract. In *Swanson v. Union Pac. Railroad Co.* (152 N. W. 744), a contract for life employment was involved.

(c) RESTRICTION ON DISCHARGE—RIGHT OF SILENCE—As violating "the right of silence," a correlative of the liberty of speech, a Texas statute was declared unconstitutional, which required that the employer furnish the worker with a statement of the cause of discharge, in the case of *St. Louis S. W. Ry. Co. v. Griffin* (171 S. W. 703, Sup. Ct. of Tex.). Where a certificate of discharge has been given which is injurious and defamatory, proof must be complete as to damages resulting from the unlawful act which interferes with employment. A libel suit, however, may be maintained. This was held in *Dick v. No. Pac. Ry. Co.* (150 Pac. 8, Sup. Ct. of Wash.). The Massachusetts Court was asked by the legislature whether legislation would be con-

sidered constitutional which permitted an employee to demand a hearing, when threatened with discharge the report being indirectly received. The court replied in the negative.

(d) **EMPLOYMENT STATUS—MINE GUARDS—**That the company was responsible for the acts of armed guards hired by it, the superintendent of the company having instigated the assaults by the guards employed, was the decision arrived at in the case of *Pennsylvania Mining Company v. Jarnigan* (222 Fed. 889, U. S. Circ. Ct. of App., 8th Dist.) In *Ruffner v. Jamison Coal and Coke Co.* (Atl. 1075) the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania dealt with a similar case. Here there were no public funds available for the wages of the guards and these were paid by the company. The guards, were held, however, to be acting in a public capacity, and the company was held not to be liable for injurious acts done beyond the proper scope of their authority.

The status of a man boarding a train used exclusively to carry workmen was considered in the case of *Schifalacqua v. Atlantic City Railroad Co.* (95 Atl. 260). In the case at hand the plaintiff was not an employee, but one seeking employment. The court held that he could not recover damages for injuries incurred in the act, as he was neither an employee nor a passenger.

(e) **INTERFERENCE WITH EMPLOYMENT—BLACKLISTS—**In a Massachusetts case, a striker who had committed unlawful acts was held not to possess "clean hands," which would enable him to secure redress in a court of equity, where employment had been lost because of his being placed on the blacklist (*Cornellier v. Haverhill Shoe Manfg. Assoc.* 109 N. E. 643). No proof seemed to be adduced in the trial that the plaintiff had actually participated in the unlawful acts alleged to have been committed by the strikers, but, as he was a member of the union, the court held that he could not avoid responsibility for some of these acts. For any damage caused by the blacklist, the court held that he must seek redress at a court of law, rather than a court of equity.

The courts of New York and Massachusetts sustained judgment in favor of employees whose discharge was procured by false or unauthorized statements as to assignment of wages by them, in the cases of *Scott v. Prudential Outfitting Co.* (155 N. Y. Supp. 497) and *Kennedy v. Hub Manfg. Co.* (108 N. E. 932) respectively.

In *Lambert v. State* (69 So. 261), the Alabama court set forth the conditions under which the Alabama statute applies which penalizes interference with employment by

hiring away the workman of another under contract with him for service.

Another case of blacklist was decided by the Court of Appeals of Maryland, where it was held that a party placed on the blacklist by associated business men, on the ground that his dealings were inconsistent with just and equitable principles of trade, cannot claim damages as for wrongful or malicious interference, where nothing more is done than to give information in accordance with a mutual agreement without coercion (*McCarter v. Baltimore Chamber of Commerce* (94 Atl. 541)).

Where a notice had been posted by railroad officials that they should not call on a certain physician "in any case" of accident, the physician had a proper case for damages against some of the parties defendant by reason of their action, according to the Supreme Court of Montana in the case of *Peek v. No. Pac. Ry. Co.* (152 Pac. 421).

## VI. Employment Offices.

That the State may by statute, on the ground of public policy, prohibit employment agencies from taking fees from persons desiring employment, was decided in *Wiseman v. Tanner* (221 Fed. 694) by the U. S. Dist. Ct., W. Dist. Wash. This statute did not apply, however, to teachers' agencies (*Huntworth v. Tanner*, 152 Pac. 523, Sup. Ct. of Wash.).

The Supreme Court of Michigan upheld the law of that State which provided for license fees graduated according to the population of the cities, and which authorized the commissioner of labor to revoke licenses for violations of law (*People v. Brazee*, 149 N. W. 1053).

## VII. Restriction of Employment.

(a) **ALIENS**—The constitutionality of the New York statute forbidding the employment of aliens on public works was upheld by the Court of Appeals of that State in *People v. Crane* (108 N. E. 427), and, on appeal, by the U. S. Supreme Court (in *Heim v. McCall*, 36 Sup. Ct. 78). On the other hand, the last named court held a statute in Arizona unconstitutional, which extended to private employment, and tended to debar from means of livelihood persons legally within the U. S. (*Truax v. Raich*, 36 Sup. Ct. 7.). The law had provided that aliens should not be employed in a business employing less than 5 workers, and that in such business not more than 20% of the workers should be aliens. No special public interest necessitating such a law was shown according to the court.

(b) **EXAMINATION AND LICENSING**—That a plumber who, contrary to the provisions of law, had secured no license, could not recover for services rendered, was the decision of the Appellate Division of the N. Y. Supreme Court in *Gottesman v. Barer* (152 N. Y. 128).

### VIII. Mines.

(a) **WASH ROOMS**—The U. S. Supreme Court upheld the Indiana statute requiring the establishment of wash rooms for the use of mine employees under certain conditions, in *Booth v. Indiana* (35 Sup. Ct. 618), while the Supreme Court of Kansas upheld a similar statute passed in that State, in *State v. Reaser* (145 Pac. 838). In both cases the question of the constitutionality of the statute had been contested.

### IX. Railroads.

(a) **FULL CREWS**—An Arkansas statute prescribed "full crews" for railroads of not less than 50 miles in length. In *Kansas City Southern Railway Co. v. State* (174 S. W. 223), it was held that this law applied to a railroad of more than 50 miles, even though the length of the tracks within the State was less than 50.

(b) **SAFETY APPLIANCES**—The following were the most important cases dealing with safety appliance laws:

*U. S. v. Erie Railroad Co.*, 35 Supreme Ct., 631 (U. S. Supreme Ct.). *U. S. v. Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Co.*, 35 Supreme Ct., 634 (U. S. Supreme Ct.). *Virginian Ry. Co. v. U. S.*, 223 Fed. 748 (U. S. Circ. Ct. of App., 4th Dist.). *U. S. v. A. T. & S. F. Ry. Co.*, 220 Fed. 215 (U. S. Dist. Ct., So. Dist., Calif.). *So. Ry. Co. v. Railroad Com. of Indiana*, 35 Sup. Ct. 304 (U. S. Sup. Ct.).

They involved questions as to the character of the trains on which brakes should be placed, the definition of railway yards, definition of the word "necessary," etc.

### X. Workmen's Compensation.

Seven state courts of last appeal during the year affirmed the constitutionality of workmen's compensation law.

The main points of dispute—outside of the law's unconstitutionality—revolved around the questions as to whether the compensation laws precluded resorting to any other remedy; to what extent the laws could be enforced, when accidents occurred outside of the state and what were the relations between the State and the federal laws. The courts have generally held that the acts have extra-territorial effect. A wide application of State laws has in general been given by the courts, when claimants have been unwilling or unable to sue under Federal laws.



(a) **CONSTITUTIONALITY OF STATUTE**—In the following cases the constitutionality of compensation laws in various states was upheld:

Wheeler v. Contocook Mills Corp., 94 Atl. 265 (Sup. Ct. N. H.); Memphis Cotton Oil Co. v. Tolbert, 171 S. W. 309 (Ct. of Civ. App. of Texas); Middleton v. Texas Power & Light Co., 178 S. W. 956 (Ct. of Civ. App. of Texas); Mackin v. Detroit-Timkin Axle Co. 153 N. W. 49 (Sup. Ct. of Mich.); Porter v. Hopkins, 109 N. E. 629 (Sup. Ct. of Ohio); Jensen v. So. Pac., 109 N. E. 600 (Ct. of App. of N. Y.); Hunter v. Colfax Consolidated Coal Co., 154 N. W. 1037 (Sup. Ct. of Iowa); Western Indemnity Co. v. Pillsbury, 151 Pac. 398 (Sup. Ct. of Calif.).

(b) **APPLICABILITY OF STATUTE**—The one case under this division coming before the Supreme Court of the U. S. was the Washington case (No. Pac. Ry. Co. v. Meese, 36 Sup. Ct. 223), in which the court upheld the exclusiveness of the compensation law of Washington as a remedy for an injury to an employee, even when that injury was due to the negligence of third parties.

The distinction between an employee and an independent contractor was noted in the cases of *In re Rheinwald* (153 N. Y. Supp. 598); *In re Powley* (154 N. Y. Supp. 426) and *State ex rel Virginia & Rainy Lake Co. v. Dist. Ct.* (150 N. W. 211 Sup. Ct. of Minn.).

Under the Michigan statute, it was held that police officers were not employees, but officers of the city, and therefore outside of the provisions of the law (*Blynn v. City of Pontiac*, 151 N. W. 681). In *Foth v. Macomber & Whyte Rope Co.* (154 N. W. 369), a minor employed unlawfully in a hazardous occupation was permitted to recover under the Wisconsin law. In *Rongo v. R. Waddington & Sons* (94 Atl. 408), a New Jersey case, the original employer was held responsible for the injuries incurred by a driver hired out by his employer to another person, and receiving injuries during such employment.

In a New York case, false statements concerning the marital conditions of the late employee, who died from injuries while in defendant's employ, was held not to bar his widow from recovering under the act (*Kenny v. Union Ry. Co.* (152 N. Y. Supp. 117)).

(c) **RELATION OF STATE TO FEDERAL LAWS**—Diverse decisions have been rendered during the year on the relation between the State compensation laws and the Federal statutes. Cases involving questions of admiralty were decided in New York, Connecticut and Washington. In the first two states, it was declared that an injured person, who

was formerly allowed to proceed at his option either in admiralty or under the common law, might make a claim under the compensation law as a substitute for the common law. In Washington the reverse ruling was given. The cases were respectively: *In re Walker* (109 N. E. 604); *Kennerston v. Thames Towboat Co.* (94 Atl. 372); *State ex rel Jarvis v. Daggett* (151 Pac. 648).

The same diversity appeared in the cases of interstate employees injured without any negligence on the part of the employer and therefore not entitled to sue under the Federal law. In Illinois a suit under the State compensation law was prohibited (*Staley v. Ill. Central Railroad Co.* 109 N. E. 342). In New York and New Jersey suits were allowed (*Winfield v. N. Y. C. and H. R. R. Co.* 153 N. Y. Supp. 499; *Rounsaville v. Central Railroad Co.* 94 Atl. 392). State statutes were held to apply rather than Federal statutes, in *Jensen v. So. Pac. Co.* (109 N. E. 600, N. Y.); *Ham-mill v. Penn. Co.* (94 Atl. 313 N. J.); *Okrzsezs v. Lehigh Valley R. R. Co.* (155 N. Y. Supp. 919); *Fairchild v. Penn. R. R. Co.* (155 N. Y. Supp. 751).

(d) EXTRA TERRITORIALITY OF STATUTE—In several of the states it was held that the compensation law of the State in which the hiring is done still governs when workmen in the performance of their duties go outside the State. This view was taken in the New York case of *Post v. Burger & Gohlke* (111 N. E. 351); in the Connecticut case of *Kennerston v. Thames Towboat Co.* and the New Jersey case of *Rounsaville v. Central R. R. Co.* Another important New Jersey case was that of *W. Jersey Trust Co. v. Phil. & Reading Ry. Co.* (95 Atl. 756), where recovery under the act was had by a brakeman engaged in interstate commerce, despite the fact that the contract was made in another jurisdiction than that in which the accident occurred: that negligence was in evidence and that the brakeman and widow had signed a release.

(e) HAZARDOUS EMPLOYMENTS—The New York law applies only to hazardous employments. What constitutes employment in this sense has been dealt with in several cases. Those engaged in certain plate glass industries, in running elevators, in wholesale drug stores and retail butcher shops, were included in the law, while others engaged as janitors, as hotel assistants, as harvesters of ice and as shippers in a wholesale produce establishment were excluded.

Many other important decisions were rendered by the various courts under the general divisions of "proximate cause," "evidence," "course of employment," "benefits," "disability," "dependency," "wilful misconduct" and "procedure." Several cases were also decided under the general title of "Employers' Liability Insurance."

### **XI. Relief Associations.**

That passage of the Federal liability statute had invalidated the contract of a member of a railway relief department, and that a claimant who had recovered in a suit for damages could not therefore receive further benefits from this department in accordance with the contract made, was the decision of the Supreme Court of Indiana in the case of the Baltimore and Ohio R. R. v. Miller (107 N. E. 545). In the other Indiana case, a contributor to a relief fund maintained in violation of a State statute was permitted to recover from the fund the amount of his contribution thereto, he having left the employment of the company. (B. & O. S. W. R. R. Co. v. Hagan, 109 N. E. 194.).

### **XII. Liability of Employers for Injuries to Employees.**

Scores of cases have been decided under this heading, the most important of them involving the application of the Federal liability law.

### **References.**

The foregoing excerpts have been taken from the Bulletin of the U. S. Department of Labor Statistics, entitled: "Decisions of Courts Affecting Labor, 1915." The survey given in this Bulletin is an admirable compilation and can be obtained on application to the Bureau in Washington. The decisions are taken chiefly from the U. S. Courts and the courts of last resort in the various States, although they include a few from some of the subordinate courts, notably in the State of New York. The citations are not meant to be exhaustive, but merely indicative of the more important cases. If the reader is desirous of studying the general law on the subjects broached, he may be referred to other bulletins published by the Labor Bureau, to Clark's "The Law of the Employment of Labor," Groat's "Attitude of American Courts in Labor Cases," Laidler's "Boycotts and the Labor Struggle" and Martin's "Treatise on the Law of Labor Unions."

## THE KANSAS LABOR STATUTE CASE AND THE SUPREME COURT.

An Analysis of the Police Power of the State.

By HARRY W. LAIDLER.

Following closely in the wake of the Danbury Hatters' case, the decision in the Kansas Labor Statute Case (**Coppage v. Kansas**) handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States on January 25, 1915, has been taken by thousands of citizens as but another evidence of the economic bias of our judiciary and of its utter failure adequately to adjust ancient legal principles to the intricate industrial life of today.

The Kansas decision in substance declared unconstitutional a state statute which prevented an employer from forcing an employee to agree not to join a trade union during his term of office. By this decision it is thus seen to be perfectly legal for an employer to cease relations with or "boycott" a worker, if the latter does not "boycott" union labor. The conclusions reached are even more adverse to labor than are those in the famous Adair decisions of 1908, which, according to many labor leaders, virtually legalized the blacklist.

The facts of the Coppage case are briefly as follows: In 1903 a Kansas Statute was passed making it a misdemeanor for any employer to require a worker to agree not to join a labor union or remain as a member of such, as a condition of obtaining or retaining a position. On July 1, 1911, T. B. Coppage, superintendent of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway Company, at Fort Scott, Kansas, requested A. R. Hedges, a switchman, to sign an agreement that he would withdraw from the Switchman's Union of America and remain outside of its ranks so long as he was employed by the Company. Hedges refused to comply and was discharged. Legal proceedings followed. The case finally reached the Kansas Supreme Court, where the constitutionality of the statute was upheld. On January 25th of this year the Kansas judgment was reversed by the U. S. Supreme Court, Justice Pitney rendering the decision. Justice Holmes dissented on the same grounds as in the Adair case of 1908, and Justice Day issued a separate dissenting opinion, concurred in by Justice Hughes.

Justice Pitney contended that the statute in question constituted an interference with liberty of contract guaranteed by the Fourteenth amendment, and thus must be deemed to be arbitrary, "unless it be supportable as a reasonable exercise of the police power of the state." A statute, he

declared, may be sustained as a legitimate exercise of this police power if it is passed to prevent coercion and to promote the public health, safety, morals or general welfare of the people. No coercion, however, here appears—the plaintiff was absolutely free to choose whether he wished to retain his membership in the trade-union or to keep his job. The act bears no possible relation to the public welfare, etc., “beyond the supposed desirability of leveling inequalities of fortune by depriving one who has property of some part of what is characterized as his ‘financial independence.’” An endeavor so to level inequalities would deny to citizens the right of private property guaranteed by the Fourteenth amendment, since inequality is the inevitable result of a system of private property.

### Alleged Grounds of Unconstitutionality.

Justice Holmes, as in the Adair case, took a more enlightened view and showed that the statute, far from interfering with freedom of contract, might be looked upon as actually preparing the way for such freedom. He declared:

“In present conditions a workman may not unnaturally believe that only by belonging to a union can he secure a contract that shall be fair to him. If that belief, whether right or wrong, may be held by a reasonable man, it seems to me that it may be enforced by law *in order to establish the equality of position between the parties in which liberty of contract begins. Whether in the long run it is wise for the workingman to enact legislation of this sort is not my concern, but I am strongly of the opinion that there is nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent it.*” (Italics mine.)

Justice Day sought to distinguish the case from the Adair decision. He declared that the right of contract was not absolute; that those who attack the legislation have the burden of proving that it conflicts with some constitutional restraint or that the public welfare is not subserved by the legislation, that the local legislature is itself a judge of the necessity of such legislation, and that the legislature’s enactments might only be set aside if they can be shown to be arbitrary and capricious. Since this statute simply protected the legal right of an employee to join a union, its passage could not be considered an abuse of legislative power.

The Justice also declared that the court had no right to inquire into the motives of the legislature and that even if its object was that of equalizing the relative positions of contractual parties, and of protecting “those who might otherwise be unable to protect themselves,” no substantial objection could be raised.



### No Absolute Right of Contract.

Justice Day scoffed at the assertion that coercion is not present when an employer forces an employee to sign an agreement to leave a union or leave his job. "In view of the relative position of employer and employed," he declared, "who is to deny that the stipulation here insisted upon and forbidden by the law is essentially coercive? No forms of words can strip it of its true character."

We cannot help but feel with the dissenting justices that the Kansas Statute was a legitimate exercise of the police power of the state; that in inquiring into the motives of the legislature, the court unduly interfered with the legislative function; that, in concentrating on the alleged rights of the employer, it interfered unduly with those of the worker, and that the legislature can reasonably step in to lessen gross inequalities of position under the police power of the state. While we also agree that there is a real distinction between the Kansas Statute and the Erdman provision dealt with in the Adair Case, difference or no difference, the constitutionality of the former statute should have been sustained.

## BOYCOTT, BLACKLIST AND INJUNCTION.

BY HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### Definition of Boycott.

A boycott in labor disputes may be defined as a combination of workmen to cease all dealings with another, an employer or, at times, a fellow worker, and, usually, also to induce or coerce third parties to cease such dealings, the purpose being to persuade or force such other to comply with some demand or to punish him for non-compliance in the past.

The boycott may be divided into the primary, the secondary and the compound boycotts. A **primary boycott**, an unimportant form, may be defined as a simple combination of persons to suspend dealings with a party obnoxious to them, involving no attempt to persuade or coerce third parties to suspend dealings also.

A **secondary boycott** consists of a combination of workmen to induce or persuade third parties to cease business relations with those against whom they have a grievance. A **compound boycott** appears when the workmen use coercive and intimidating measures in preventing third parties from dealing with the boycotted firms.

**Compound boycotts** are of two kinds—those involving threats of pecuniary injury and those involving threats of actual physical force and violence.

The primary, secondary and compound forms of the boycott may be directed against a fellow workman or against an employer of labor. If directed against a workman, it is sometimes called a labor boycott. In enforcing a boycott, effort is sometimes made to induce or coerce customers to withdraw patronage from the "unfair" employer; sometimes, to induce or coerce sellers to cease supplying an "unfair" employer with needed material; sometimes, to induce or coerce employees to quit work. The last named form is known in law as a labor boycott.

### **Legality of the Boycott.**

Five states—Alabama, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana and Texas—prohibit boycotting by name. Thirty-three states make illegal one or more forms under statutes relating to "Conspiracy," "Coercion," "Intimidation," "Interference with Employment," and "Enticing Employees."

The common law decisions in the states have generally held the primary boycotts legal. As nearly as can be ascertained, the highest courts have flatly decided against secondary or compound boycotting in some fourteen states—Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Washington, Louisiana and Wisconsin. In the latter two states, labor boycotts only have been condemned.

In three states—New York, Montana and California—the secondary, and, in the latter two, a form of the compound boycott, have been declared legal. The cases, among others, in which boycotting has been proclaimed legal are:—*Lindsay Co. v. Montana Federation of Labor* (Montana, 1908) 96 Pac. 127; *Parkinson & Co. v. Building Trades Council* (Calif., 1908) 98 Pac. 1027; *Pierce v. Stablemen's Union* (Calif., 1909) 103 Pac. 324; *National Protective Association v. Cummings* (N. Y., 1902) 63 N. E. 369; and *Mills v. U. S. Printing Co.* (N. Y., 1904) 99 App. Div. 605.

### **Clayton Anti-Trust Law and Boycotts.**

The question now uppermost in the minds of union men is, can the courts similarly reach the funds of the unions under the new Clayton amendment? Little light was thrown on this subject by the recent decision, since the new law, passed long after the commencement of the suit, was not considered in this case.

The two sections of the Clayton bill which bear on this subject are sections 6 and 20. Trade unionists can get little comfort from section 6, which merely states that the existence of labor organizations shall not be jeopardized by the

Sherman law, and that their members shall not be restrained from carrying out the legitimate objects of the organizations in a lawful manner. The effect of this section is probably to prevent the use of injunctions against those acts which are considered lawful under the common law.

The section on which the unionists chiefly rely is section 20 which provides:

(1) "No restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from ceasing to patronize or employ any person to such dispute, or from recommending or persuading others by peaceful and lawful means so to do \* \* \* or (2) from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto; nor (3) shall any of the acts specified in this paragraph be considered or held to be violations of any law of the United States."

The act thus prevents the use of injunctions in federal courts against workers employing the primary boycott and the secondary boycott where mere persuasion is used to induce third parties to cease relations with the firm involved in the dispute. This passage does not seem, however, to touch tertiary boycotts, nor compound boycotts in which the workers threaten to cease dealings with parties who continue their relations with the boycotted firm. The second part of the section, broadly interpreted, would still further free the use of interstate boycotts from the federal injunctive process, but such interpretation is by no means certain. The third clause seems to free the acts specified not only from the federal injunction, but also from civil and criminal proceedings under the Sherman act and other federal laws, inasmuch as only violators of laws warrant such proceedings.

Until, therefore, that part of the Clayton amendment relating to the activities of labor organizations is definitely interpreted, the only form of boycotting which the unions may feel reasonably safe in pursuing without violating the act, and without being held liable for treble damages, is the peaceful and lawful persuading of third parties to cease relations with a party to the dispute, such persuasion being unaccompanied by threats of loss of business or any coercive measures.

### Danbury Hatters' Case and the Supreme Court.

(From *The Survey*, Jan. 16, 1916.)

In 1897 the United Hatters of North America began a determined fight for the closed shop and were said within a few years to have unionized 70 of the 82 principal factories. In 1902 the officers of the union approached Loewe, a Danbury hat manufacturer. He refused to concede their demands. On July 25 of that year 250 employes were called out on strike. Then began the boycott. Unions through-

out the country were requested to call on customers; organizers were routed; and boycott advertisements appeared in labor journals. The boycott had its effect. The net damage during the next year or two was placed at about \$80,000.

Suit was brought in the United States Circuit Court in Hartford, Conn., August 31, 1903, on the ground of violation of the Sherman anti-trust law. In 1907, Judge James P. Platt of the Circuit Court asked the United States Supreme Court for ruling on section 7 of the Sherman act. This ruling was given by Justice Fuller on February 3, 1908, the boycott by trade unions being brought, to the astonishment of many, within the purview of the act. To the argument that the statute was not meant to apply to labor unions, the court at that time declared that "the records of Congress show that several efforts were made to exempt by legislation organizations of . . . laborers from the operation of the act, and that all efforts failed."

Nor did it suffice labor to declare that the framers had given assurances that the act was not aimed at labor unions; that large majorities of the House and Senate had at different times approved of the exemption clause and that Senator Hoar, who claimed to be the real father of the bill, some ten years later had asserted, on the floor of Congress, that, when he proposed the law, he had no intention of bringing it to bear against labor unions.

On October 13, 1909, the case was brought to trial, which lasted five months. In charging the jury, Judge Platt overstepped his authority, and declared that the question of damages was "the only question with which they could properly concern themselves." The damages assessed amounted to \$232,240.

The case was appealed, however, on a writ of error, to the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Second District, and on April 10, 1911, the judgment was reversed, and greater proof of the acquiescence of members in the illegal acts of the organization was demanded. A retrial followed and on October 11, 1912, the verdict for the \$252,130 judgment was rendered. The jury took the position that the minutes, resolutions, reports, proclamations and printed discussions which the officers and agents of the association publicly proclaimed and circulated among the membership were approved or warranted by the individual members of the association. The Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the judgment in December, 1913. The Supreme Court of the United States affirmed the decision, January 5, 1915.

## BLACKLIST.

Definition: An agrément of employers to refuse employment to certain workmen obnoxious to them, generally on account of their activities in behalf of labor.

The blacklist is a weapon used by employers corresponding to the boycott used by labor. Contrary to the boycott, however, the blacklist is generally most effective when its use is secret. Laws have been passed against the blacklist in twenty-six states as follows: Connecticut in New England; Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, No. Carolina and Virginia in the South; Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Texas, Utah and Wisconsin in the West; and California, Oregon and Washington on the Pacific Coast.

In many other states blacklisting may be reached by laws under the title of "Discharge, Statement of Cause of," "Interference with Employment," etc.

## INJUNCTION.

A writ of injunction has been described as a judicial process, whereby a party is required to do, or refrain from doing a particular thing.

Injunctions are classified as preliminary and permanent injunctions. The former, the more common, is sometimes called the remedial writ of injunction. It is provisional, its sole object being to preserve the subject in controversy in its then condition without determining any question of right.

A restraining order differs from a temporary injunction in that it remains effective only until an application for an injunction can be heard, while the temporary injunction is effective until the trial of the action in which it is issued.

Injunctions are also defined as mandatory or preventive according as they command a defendant to do or not to do a certain act or acts. Mandatory injunctions are permitted in cases of extreme necessity and hardship when complainant's right is clear.

## Bibliography.

For further information about the boycott see "Boycotts and the Labor Struggle," by Harry W. Laidler, Ph.D., N. Y.: John Lane Co. and "Boycotts in American Trade Unions," by Leo Wolman, Ph.D., Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.



## PART THREE.

# THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

## I. HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Before the Civil War the word Socialism was known in the United States only in connection with a number of Utopian experiments, interesting, and to some extent successful, but not to be included in a sketch of American Socialist parties.

The Civil War marked the end of the pioneer period. Almost immediately the labor unions, existing before this time merely as local or temporary organizations, began to deal with permanent issues, to band themselves together into national federations, and at times to engage in political activity. In 1872 the headquarters of the "International" were transferred to New York, but the organization survived only four years longer. It was in 1874 that various working class elements, including refugee German Marxists and revolutionary American laborers, came together to form an organization which soon became known as the **Socialist Labor Party**.

For some years the party struggled under great disadvantages. Political activity was sometimes discouraged altogether, and sometimes attempted in temporary alliance with a larger radical group,—the Greenback Party in 1880 and the United Labor Party in New York in 1886.

An important crisis occurred in the early eighties when Anarchism, long ago driven from the International in the person of Bakunin, threatened to win to its propaganda the entire American movement. A new organization, the International Working People's Association, made serious inroads upon the membership of the S. L. P. and a large element in the Socialist ranks was openly desirous of affiliation. In 1883, however, the situation was faced, and the policy of Anarchism definitely repudiated by the party.

Their relation to the labor unions has always presented a serious problem to the American Socialist parties. By 1886 the **Knights of Labor** had become powerful, and by 1890 the **American Federation of Labor** had already begun to overshadow the older body. By this time the S. L. P. had come under the headship of Daniel De Leon, who continued as leader until his death in 1914. Although on friendly terms at the outset with both the Knights and the Federation,

De Leon soon became involved in quarrels which brought the party as a whole in antagonism to each of these national bodies. By the creation of the **Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance** in 1895, a labor federation under the direct control of the party, a final breach was made, and the Socialist Labor Party remains still opposed to all non-Socialist unions.

During this period insurgency was rapidly developing within the party, and a process of "purification" was resorted to from time to time, by which heretics and insubordinates were expelled. A revolt arose, led by the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* in opposition to De Leon and his paper, *The People*, then, as now, the official organ of the S. L. P. In 1899 the break proved final, and the seceding members proceeded to form a new organization at Rochester.

Meanwhile Socialism was beginning to emerge in the West, in forms growing directly out of American conditions. Eugene V. Debs, whose imprisonment in connection with the strike of the American Railway Union had made him a Socialist, had gathered together a vaguely Socialist organization, and another group, centering around two Socialist publications, *The Coming Nation* and *The Appeal to Reason*, had in 1897 united with these followers of Debs to form the **Social Democracy of America**. As the majority of the new party, however, inclined more to Utopian schemes of colonization than to political action, a split took place almost immediately, and Eugene V. Debs and Victor Berger, leader of the Social Democracy in Wisconsin, bolted to found still another organization, the **Social Democratic Party of America**. It was to the last-named group that the Rochester wing of the S. L. P. made its overtures for union in 1899.

Negotiations were at first fraught with much difficulty owing to the mutual distrust of the Eastern and Western sections. For a time the confusion grew still worse and the presidential election of 1900 saw three Socialist parties in the field in New York in addition to the old Socialist Labor Party. For the purposes of the election, however, the three parties adopted a combination ticket; after a campaign of work together all distrust disappeared, and all with the exception of De Leon's wing of the S. L. P. united in 1901 to form what presently received the title of the **Socialist Party**.

The chief details regarding the subsequent history of both parties are given under the sections that follow. The **Socialist Labor Party** continued to decline in vote from 82,204 in 1898 to 14,021 in 1908, rising in 1912 to 34,115 but falling by 1914 to 21,827. The Socialist Party, on the contrary, rose steadily from 96,931 in 1900 to 901,062 in 1912, falling to 874,691 in 1914. The Socialist Labor Party continued under the leadership of Daniel De Leon until his

death in 1914. The candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States in 1916 are Arthur E. Reimer and Caleb Harrison. At the present date (1916), committees have been appointed by the two parties to consider ■ form of union.

The **Socialist Party** has gradually become entrusted with political power. In 1902-3 Socialist mayors were elected in Haverhill and Brockton, Mass., with two legislators. Other successes at this time were only sporadic except in Wisconsin, where a strong political organization had existed for some time, with representatives in the state legislature and the Milwaukee city council. The first real Socialist victory came in 1910, with the winning of the city of Milwaukee and the election of Victor Berger as the first Socialist Congressman. In 1911 the cities of Berkeley, Cal., Butte, Montana, and Schenectady, N. Y., came under Socialist administrations. Of these four cities Butte re-elected Mayor Duncan, and Milwaukee and Schenectady have both gone back to the Socialist rule (1916) after an interval of the old parties. In 1914 there were thirty Socialist legislators in 12 different states, with one congressman.

Aside from the accomplishments on the political field, and the international situation arising from the European War, the relation of the Socialist parties to the labor unions has been the most significant development of American Socialism in recent years. An outline of these relations is here given, but the reader is directed to other sections of the Year Book for exhaustive treatment.

In 1905 the **Industrial Workers of the World** was founded, committed to the principles of industrial unionism and the class struggle. The support of Eugene V. Debs was secured and even that of De Leon, who saw in the I. W. W. an opportunity to redeem the failure of the S. T. and L. A. For a time the new organization grew vigorously but this success was transient. In 1906 Debs resigned and the powerful Western Federation of Miners withdrew, and it was not long before De Leon quarreled with the leaders and was expelled. However, the principle of industrial unionism became more and more popular among Socialists, antagonism to the A. F. of L., as representing craft unionism, increased among the more revolutionary of the party, and in 1912 the I. W. W. again became prominent as a result of several hard fought strikes.

In the Socialist Convention of 1912 the industrialist issue was conspicuous, and serious controversy was threatened. Concessions were made on both sides, however. The principles of industrial unionism were endorsed without giving official support to any special organization; and on the

other hand, a section was inserted in the party constitution condemning violence and sabotage, a form of the class struggle encouraged by the I. W. W., and rendering any member who advocates these practices or opposes political action liable to expulsion.

In accordance with this decision Wm. Haywood was recalled from the National Executive Committee as opposing political action, but the expulsion provision has remained without enforcement. The questions as to industrialism, sabotage and political action still remain issues within the party, although for the last two years subjects connected with war and militarism have come into the first place.

The international and militarist situation will be taken up in a later section. Suffice it to say that, while important differences in policy have developed in the American party, the majority have stood definitely against war and preparedness, authorizing radical anti-war manifestos and putting in the field for the 1916 campaign candidates conspicuous for their agitation in this direction. For purposes of economy the convention of 1916 has been dispensed with, nominations being made by referendum. Eugene V. Debs and Charles Edward Russell having declined, the latter no doubt because of his difference with the party on the preparedness issue, Allan L. Benson was nominated as the presidential candidate and George R. Kirkpatrick as the vice-presidential.

Meanwhile the matter of union between the S. P. and the S. L. P. has been discussed, and a committee from both parties has been selected to arrange the details of coming together. In 1916, therefore, the prospects are bright for a united American Socialism, coming before the nation not only as the representative of the working class, but also as the only political party with a program of direct opposition to militarism.

(The material in this chapter has been taken to a great extent from the sub-editor's "The Facts of Socialism," published by John Lane Company. For the early years of Socialism the editor is indebted to Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United States.")

## 2. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

The three most important matters upon which there have been distinct differences of policy between the two parties are the party press, the relation to labor unions, and the apportionment of power between central and local organizations.

The Socialist Labor Party has long supported a party organ, *The People*, of which De Leon was for many years the editor. Peculiar provisions of the constitution are the

following: "Each section shall relentlessly insist upon each member being a regular reader of the party organ, except when none such is published in the language read by the member; . . . no member, committee, or section of the Party shall publish a political paper without the sanction of the National Executive Committee; . . . the National Executive Committee shall have control of the contents of all party organs, and shall act on grievances connected with the same." (Const. S. L. P., Art. 5, Sec. 14, 15; Art. 9, 10; Art. 2, Sec. 20, 21.)

Until recently the Socialist Party has refused to designate an official party press. In 1914, however, the policy was changed and *The American Socialist* was established as the organ of the party, published at the national headquarters in Chicago. The party is also in constant friendly relations with many privately owned papers of a political nature, over which it claims no official control.

The Socialist Party, although at the Convention of 1912 it endorsed the principle of industrial unionism, has never definitely advocated the industrial form to the exclusion of the craft union. The S. L. P., however, condemns craft unionism, denounces neutrality toward labor organizations on the part of a political party and urges the workers to organize **industrially**. (Resolution of April 29, 1916.) The policy of the S. L. P., moreover, unlike that of the S. P., has always been in favor of maintaining separate Socialist labor organizations under the control of the party. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, founded in the nineties, was a rival of the American Federation of Labor, as is now its successor, the **Worker's International Industrial Union**.

While in the Socialist Party the state organization has complete control, subject only to the national constitution, the Socialist Labor Party gives the chief power to the local, on the one hand, and to the National Executive Committee, on the other. The local has supreme disciplinary power over its members, and the National Executive can expel any state executive at pleasure.

#### Basis of Unity.

In the Basis of Unity proposed to the Socialist Party the S. L. P. states an Irreducible Minimum of principles which are to be incorporated in the principles of the United Party, and also a set of Maximum Demands "upon all or some of which the two parties, presumably, may not agree at this stage." We print the latter in full:

#### Maximum Demands.

1. Declaration, that the Capitalist Political State,—composed of elected or of appointed representatives of political districts and territorial geographical divisions (county, state, etc.)—must under Socialism, be superseded by the government of Industrial Democracy, composed of



workers elected by their fellow-workers in the various industries for the purpose of conducting and regulating the production and distribution of wealth.

2. The exposure of the American Federation of Labor and kindred organizations as the representatives of the reactionary anti-Socialist craft union movement and as an obstacle in the path for the improvement of conditions and the emancipation of Labor.

3. Declaration that the United Socialist Party aims to socialize, along with other means of production of commodities, all land used for the production of commodities whether such land be owned by a big or small farmer, or be tilled by wage labor or otherwise.

4. Endorsement of the Stuttgart resolution on the Immigration question. That resolution declares that it is proper for Socialists to support only such laws as prohibit importation of strike breakers and of contract labor. But, outside of these two elements, it is improper for Socialists to support any laws which in any way interfere with or abolish the right of a workman of any country whatsoever, China or Japan not excepted, to go to any other country as individual workman in search of a living. That the political and economic labor movement of the country toward which the current of immigration flows should endeavor to offset the possible temporary harmful effect of immigration and turn that current of immigration into a source of strength instead of weakness, by drawing immigrants into the ranks of the labor movement of the new country, and for that purpose doing away with high initiation fees, "closing of union books," and other such methods used by the A. F. of L. craft unions for the purpose of monopolizing jobs for the few inside of such unions.

5. Declaration repudiating the fallacy of the so-called "buying out the capitalists" as the means for the emancipation of the working class.

6. Construction of a constitution of the United Socialist Party which would decentralize and make much more democratic the present constitution of the S. P.

7. Prohibition of the state autonomy being used to advocate principles or policies which conflict with the general principles of the United Socialist Party.

8. The adoption of the general name of United Socialist Party of America, wherever that does not militate against the state laws. The S. L. P. then reserves for its sub-division the name "Socialist Labor Propagandists."

### 3. GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

#### 1. MEMBERSHIP.

##### Growth in Membership of the Socialist Party.

(Appeal Almanac, 1916, page 183.)

The number of dues paying members of the Socialist party in the United States for the respective years noted is as follows:

1903 .....	15,975
1904.....	20,763
1905.....	23,327
1906.....	26,784
1907.....	29,270
1908.....	41,751
1909.....	41,479
1910.....	58,011

# SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN UNITED STATES 95

1911.....	84,716
1912.....	113,371
1913.....	95,401
1914.....	93,579
1915.....	79,374

The number of locals and branches is approximately 5,000.

Membership for the first four months of 1916.

(Statement of Walter Lanfersiek, National Executive Secretary.)

	Regular	Dual	Exempt	Total
January .....	71,254	14,380	1,160	86,794
February .....	74,203	18,694	3,325	96,222
March .....	83,758	16,870	2,782	103,410
April .....	72,200	15,448	2,486	90,134
Average for four months, 94,140.				

Membership of the Socialist Party by States, for the years 1914 and 1915, including the apportionment of members of the National Committee:

(From *The American Socialist*, Jan. 23, 1916.)

States	Total Members 1914	Total Members 1915	National Com. 1916
Alabama .....	217.....	185.....	1
Alaska .....	546.....	97.....	1
Arizona .....	460.....	441.....	1
Arkansas .....	533.....	444.....	1
California .....	5252.....	3543.....	2
Colorado .....	1237.....	714.....	1
Connecticut .....	1368.....	1331.....	1
Delaware .....	35.....	68.....	1
District of Columbia .....	251.....	239.....	1
Florida .....	696.....	287.....	1
Georgia .....	39.....	75.....	1
Idaho .....	905.....	765.....	1
Illinois .....	6562.....	6004.....	3
Indiana .....	2222.....	1637.....	1
Iowa .....	1070.....	912.....	1
Kansas .....	1959.....	1405.....	1
Kentucky .....	270.....	237.....	1
Louisiana .....	462.....	304.....	1
Maine .....	407.....	467.....	1
Maryland .....	481.....	340.....	1
Massachusetts .....	4830.....	4712.....	2
Michigan .....	2943.....	2322.....	1
Minnesota .....	4965.....	3542.....	2
Mississippi .....	124.....	95.....	1
Missouri .....	1806.....	1212.....	1
Montana .....	1589.....	1057.....	1
Nebraska .....	559.....	412.....	1

Nevada .....	614.....	330.....	1
New Hampshire .....	596.....	545.....	1
New Jersey .....	3364.....	2637.....	1
New Mexico .....	191.....	182.....	1
New York .....	10717.....	9783.....	4
North Carolina .....	75.....	35.....	1
North Dakota .....	1644.....	1107.....	1
Ohio .....	4626.....	4278.....	2
Oklahoma .....	7039.....	7207.....	3
Oregon .....	1306.....	1015.....	1
Pennsylvania .....	7648.....	6666.....	3
Rhode Island .....	545.....	445.....	1
South Carolina .....	81.....	47.....	1
South Dakota .....	427.....	333.....	1
Tennessee .....	221.....	199.....	1
Texas .....	2893.....	1710.....	1
Utah .....	448.....	252.....	1
Vermont .....	206.....	240.....	1
Virginia .....	224.....	204.....	1
Washington .....	3241.....	3622.....	2
West Virginia .....	850.....	570.....	1
Wisconsin .....	3885.....	3660.....	2
Wyoming .....	648.....	495.....	1
French Federation .....	193.....	75.....	—
Russian Federation <sup>1</sup> .....	—.....	113.....	—
Lithuanian Federation <sup>2</sup> .....	—.....	403.....	—
Ukrainian Federation <sup>3</sup> .....	—.....	124.....	—
Hawaii .....	33.....	9.....	—
Canal Zone .....	—.....	31.....	—
Porto Rico <sup>4</sup> .....	—.....	200.....	—
Members at large .....	32.....	10.....	—
Total for 1915 .....	93579	79374	65

<sup>1</sup> Admitted May 1915; <sup>2</sup> Admitted June 1915; <sup>3</sup> Admitted August 1915;

<sup>4</sup> Admitted August 1915.

### Membership of the Socialist Labor Party.

(From a statement of Arnold Petersen, National Secretary, dated February 17, 1916.)

"I have not yet received all the reports from the various Branches and Language Federations of the Party, but so far reports show a membership in good standing of about 2,000. Subsequent reports should bring this up to at least 2,500 or possibly 3,000. In addition I estimate that there are from 800 to 1,000 members in arrears owing to unemployment, leaving the section in search of a job, etc., etc.

"The party is organized in a number of States throughout the Union. It has full State organizations in about eighteen states and sections in a number of other states throughout the country. Approximately there are about 250 Branches and Sections of the Party in the various parts of the country including the Language Branches."

## II. VOTE.

## Growth in Vote of the Two Parties.

(From *Appeal Almanac*, 1916, p. 198.)

Year	Soc. Party	S. L. P.	Total
1888		2,068	2,068
1890		13,704	13,704
1892		21,512	21,512
1894		30,020	30,020
1896		36,275	36,275
1898		82,204	82,204
1900	96,931	33,405	130,336
1902	223,494	53,765	277,257
1904	408,230	33,546	441,776
1906	331,043	20,265	351,308
1908	424,488	14,021	438,509
1910	607,674	34,115	641,789
1912	901,062	30,344	931,406
1914	874,691	21,827	896,518

## Biennial Vote of Socialist Party, 1900-1912.

(From *Appeal Almanac*, 1916, p. 196.)

State	1900	1902	1904	1906	1908	1910	1912
Alabama	928	2,312	853	839	1,399	1,633	3,029
Arizona		510	1,304	1,995	1,912		3,163
Arkansas	27		1,816	2,164	5,842	9,106	8,153
California	7,572	9,592	29,533	17,515	28,659	47,819	79,201
Colorado	684	7,177	4,304	16,938	7,974	9,603	16,418
Connecticut	1,029	2,804	146	149	240	556	556
Delaware	57		4,543	3,005	5,113	12,179	10,056
Florida	603		2,337	2,530	3,747	10,204	4,806
Georgia			197	98	584	224	1,028
Idaho		1,567	4,954	5,011	6,400	5,791	11,960
Illinois	9,687	20,167	69,225	42,005	34,711	49,896	81,249
Indiana	2,374	7,111	12,013	7,824	13,476	19,632	36,931
Iowa	2,742	6,360	14,847	8,901	8,287	9,685	16,967
Kansas	1,605	4,078	15,494	8,796	12,420	16,994	26,779
Kentucky	770	1,683	3,602	1,819	4,185	5,239	11,647
Louisiana			995	603	2,538	706	5,249
Maine	878	1,973	2,106	1,553	1,758	1,641	2,541
Maryland	908	499	2,247	3,106	2,323	3,924	3,996
Massachusetts	9,716	33,629	13,604	20,699	10,781	14,444	12,662
Michigan	2,826	4,271	8,941	5,994	11,586	10,608	23,211
Minnesota	3,605	5,143	11,692	14,445	14,527	18,363	28,505
Mississippi			393	173	978	23	2,061
Missouri	6,128	5,335	13,000	11,528	15,431	19,957	28,466
Montana	708	3,131	5,676	4,638	5,855	5,412	10,885
Nebraska	823	3,157	7,412	3,763	3,524	6,721	10,185
Nevada			925	1,251	2,103	3,637	3,313
New Hampshire	790	1,057	1,090	1,011	1,299	1,072	1,980
New Jersey	4,609	4,541	9,587	7,766	10,253	10,134	15,928
New Mexico			162	211	1,056		2,859
New York	12,869	23,400	36,883	25,948	38,451	48,982	63,381
North Carolina			124		345	437	1,025
North Dakota	518	1,245	2,017	1,689	2,421	5,114	6,966
Ohio	4,847	14,270	36,260	18,432	33,795	62,356	89,930

Oklahoma .....	815	1,964	4,443	4,040	21,799	24,707	42,262
Oregon .....	1,495	3,771	7,651	17,033	7,339	19,475	13,343
Pennsylvania .....	4,831	21,910	21,863	18,736	33,913	59,639	83,614
Rhode Island .....	.....	.....	956	416	1,365	529	2,049
South Carolina .....	.....	.....	22	32	101	70	164
South Dakota .....	169	2,738	3,138	2,542	2,846	1,675	4,662
Tennessee .....	410	.....	1,354	1,637	1,870	4,571	3,504
Texas .....	1,846	3,615	2,791	3,065	7,870	11,538	24,896
Utah .....	717	3,069	5,767	3,010	4,895	4,889	9,023
Vermont .....	371	.....	844	512	547	1,067	928
Virginia .....	145	155	218	.....	255	987	820
Washington .....	2,006	4,739	10,023	8,717	14,177	15,994	40,134
West Virginia .....	268	.....	1,572	2,611	3,679	8,152	15,336
Wisconsin .....	7,095	15,970	28,220	24,916	28,164	40,052	33,481
Wyoming .....	.....	552	1,077	1,827	1,715	2,155	2,760
Total .....	96,931	223,494	408,230	331,043	424,488	607,674	901,062
Presidential Totals.	96,116	.....	402,321	.....	420,973	.....	901,062

The Vermont vote of 547, in 1908, was for the state ticket. No electoral ticket was in the field. The vote in New Mexico and Arizona, in 1910, has never been compiled by the state authorities.

### Vote of Socialist Party by States. (From *Appeal Almanac*, 1916, p. 195.)

State	Head of ticket	Highest vote
Alabama .....	1,196	1,196
Arizona .....	2,973	8,242
Arkansas .....	10,434	10,434
California .....	56,805	99,729
Colorado .....	13,943	13,943
Connecticut .....	5,890	5,914
Delaware .....	463	469
Florida .....	.....	.....
Georgia .....	.....	.....
Idaho .....	7,882	8,361
Illinois .....	39,889	50,607
Indiana .....	21,719	21,774
Iowa .....	8,462	8,462
Kansas .....	24,502	32,409
Kentucky .....	4,770	4,890
Louisiana .....	1,344 <sup>1</sup>	1,344
Maine .....	1,872	1,872
Maryland .....	3,255	3,255
Massachusetts .....	9,520	13,125
Michigan .....	11,056	11,056
Minnesota .....	17,225	30,291
Mississippi .....	1,125 <sup>2</sup>	1,125
Missouri .....	16,853	17,097
Montana .....	12,278	12,278
Nebraska .....	5,754	9,049
Nevada .....	5,451	5,451
New Hampshire .....	1,089	1,423
New Jersey .....	14,231	14,231
New Mexico .....	1,099	1,099
New York .....	55,266	55,266
North Carolina .....	425	425
North Dakota .....	6,239	6,704



# SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN UNITED STATES 99

Ohio .....	52,803	■ 189,693
Oklahoma .....	52,202	52,703
Oregon .....	10,666	23,986
Pennsylvania .....	37,967	43,932
Rhode Island .....	1,691	1,817
South Carolina .....	89	89
South Dakota .....	2,674	3,000
Tennessee .....	1,671	1,671
Texas .....	24,977	24,977
Utah .....	5,257	5,721
Vermont .....	899	901
Virginia .....	1,812 <sup>3</sup>	1,812
Washington .....	30,234	30,234
West Virginia .....	11,944	11,944
Wisconsin .....	25,917	29,774
Wyoming .....	1,816	1,816
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>625,629</b>	<b>874,691</b>

<sup>1</sup> In two out of eight Congressional districts.

<sup>2</sup> In five out of eight Congressional districts.

<sup>3</sup> In nine out of ten Congressional districts.

<sup>4</sup> Vote for Chief Justice—No Democratic candidate.

In this table the vote for both the head of the ticket and the highest vote are given. In sixteen cases the former is for United States Senator, in certain cases for Governor or other State officials; in other cases for Representatives in Congress.

## Rank of States, by Per Cent. of Socialist Votes, 1912. (From *Appeal Almanac*, 1915, p. 199.)

The figures in the first column give the percentage of the socialist vote to the total vote; in the last column the percentage of Socialist gain relative to the strength of the other parties in 1912 as compared with 1908.

States	P. C.	P. C. Net Gain
1 Oklahoma .....	16.61	95
2 Nevada .....	16.47	92
3 Montana .....	13.66	61
4 Arizona .....	13.33	84
5 Washington .....	12.43	61
6 California .....	11.68	58
7 Idaho .....	11.31	72
8 Oregon .....	9.74	47
9 Florida .....	9.26	22
10 Ohio .....	8.70	189
11 Wisconsin .....	8.37	35
12 Texas .....	8.26	208
13 Minnesota .....	8.23	88
14 North Dakota .....	8.04	216
15 Utah .....	8.03	78
16 Kansas .....	7.33	122
17 Illinois .....	7.09	136
18 Pennsylvania .....	6.85	156

19	Louisiana .....	6.61	96
20	Arkansas .....	6.57	71
21	Wyoming .....	6.52	43
22	Colorado .....	6.16	104
23	New Mexico .....	5.79	208
24	West Virginia .....	5.71	302
25	Indiana .....	5.64	201
26	Connecticut .....	5.28	96
27	Michigan .....	4.21	96
28	Nebraska .....	4.08	209
29	Missouri .....	4.07	89
30	South Dakota .....	4.01	62
31	New York .....	3.99	71
32	New Jersey .....	3.68	68
33	Iowa .....	3.45	106
34	Mississippi .....	3.19	111
35	Rhode Island .....	2.63	40
36	Massachusetts .....	2.59	10
37	Alabama .....	2.57	92
38	Kentucky .....	2.35	176
39	New Hampshire .....	2.25	56
40	Maine .....	1.96	19
41	Maryland .....	1.72	77
42	Vermont .....	1.48	74
43	Tennessee .....	1.41	93
44	Delaware .....	1.14	128
45	Georgia .....	.85	93
46	Virginia .....	.60	233
47	North Carolina .....	.42	223
48	South Carolina .....	.33	120

#### 4. POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND ITS RESULTS.

##### 1. NATIONAL.

In 1910 the Socialist Party elected to Congress Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin. Berger failed of re-election, owing to a fusion of the old parties, but in 1914 Meyer London, of New York, was elected.

#### REPORT OF THE WORK IN CONGRESS OF VICTOR L. BERGER, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FIFTH WISCONSIN DISTRICT.

The following are extracts from a booklet compiled by Carl D. Thompson, "Some Anti-Socialist Voices of the Press on Victor L. Berger":

During the first two sessions of the Sixty-second congress Mr. Berger introduced 24 measures.

Eleven bills expressed the party platform, five expressed the interests of the toilers, four dealt with problems peculiar to the District of Columbia, one demanded the recall of the troops from the Mexican border; one called for the impeachment of a corrupt federal judge, one requested an investigation of the federal mints, and one represented a local need of Berger's constituents.

### Bills introduced by Berger.

(Special session, April 4 to August 22, 1911.)

April 5—Joint resolution demanding withdrawal of troops from the Mexican border.

April 19—Joint resolution for a constitutional amendment giving Congress the right to call a constitutional convention.

April 25—Concurrent resolution demanding an investigation of the kidnapping of John J. McNamara.

April 27—Joint resolution for a constitutional amendment abolishing the senate and the veto powers of the president, and the invalidating powers of the courts.

May 17—Bill for the erection of a post-office in Waukesha, Wis., "with such structural conveniences as will contribute to the safety and comfort of the men and women to be employed there."

May 22—Bill to regulate woman and child labor in the District of Columbia.

May 30—Bill to revise the interstate extradition law.

June 8—Bill to transfer the speaker's automobile to the District of Columbia committee.

July 28—Bill to prohibit employment of children by the federal government.

July 31—Bill to provide old age pensions.

July 31—Joint resolution for appointment of a commission to report on old age pensions.

(Regular session, Dec. 4, 1911, to August 1912.)

Dec. 4—Bill to repeal the anti-trust act and to provide for the social ownership and operation of certain industries.

Dec. 20—Joint resolution for the termination of the treaty of 1887-1893 between the United States and Russia.

Jan. 9, 1912—Bill to create a public store in Washington for civil service employees.

Jan. 16—Joint resolution for a constitutional amendment extending the suffrage to women.

Jan. 16—House resolution directing the commissioner of labor to prepare a report on old age pensions.

Jan. 31—Bill for government ownership and operation of railroads, telegraphs, telephones and express properties.

Feb. 1—House resolution to investigate the strike on the Harriman railroad lines.

Feb. 5—Bill for local self-government in the District of Columbia.

Feb. 7—House resolution to investigate the Lawrence strike.

Feb. 23—House resolution to investigate the treasury department's attitude toward the government mints.

April 24—Bill for government ownership of wireless.

June 7—Resolution impeaching Judge Cornelius H. Hanford.

July 10—Bill to provide for the employment of all willing workers and for other purposes. One of the most important bills ever introduced.

### Berger's work before committees.

The Socialist Congressman never lost an opportunity to advance the cause of labor before the committees of congress. Following are the dates and occasions of these committee appearances:

May 11—In favor of the Lloyd bill to give government employees the right to organize and to petition congress.

May 29—In favor of investigating the kidnapping of the McNamara brothers, and conducting the examination of witnesses, securing a report condemning the act.

Jan. 17, 1912—Again favoring the passage of the Lloyd bill.

March 1—Conducting the hearing on his own resolution for the investigation of the Lawrence, Mass., outrages.

March 4—Favoring the establishment of a legislative division of the Library of Congress.

March 16—By his statement—presented by Mrs. Elsie Cole Phillips in his absence, advocating woman suffrage.

March 4—Opposing the Root amendment to the immigration bill which provided for the deportation of political refugees.

### Berger's two great achievements.

Among the greatest achievements of Representative Berger was the settlement of the Lawrence strike, which was the direct result of a congressional investigation initiated by the Socialist congressman and the forced resignation of Federal Judge Hanford while a sub-committee of the house committee on the judiciary was investigating the impeachment charges against him by Berger on the floor of the house.

## REPORT OF THE WORK IN CONGRESS OF MEYER LONDON, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE TWELFTH NEW YORK DISTRICT.

BY LAURENCE TODD.

The only Socialist member of the 64th Congress, and the second of his party to sit in the national legislature, Meyer London announced at the beginning of his service that he would advance two principal measures in the House. He introduced, on the opening day, December 6, 1915, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 38) calling upon the President to convene a Congress of neutral nations to seek to bring about a durable peace in Europe. Later he introduced another measure (H. J. Res. 159), which provided for a federal commission to investigate and report a scheme of national insurance against unemployment and sickness, together with old age pensions.

The peace resolution, asking that a mediation conference of neutrals sit in continuous session until the end of the war, suggested the following as principles on which a durable peace could be established: 1. Evacuation of invaded territory. 2. Liberation of oppressed nationalities. Plebiscite by the populations of Alsace-Lorraine, Finland and Poland, as to their allegiance or independence. 4. Removal of the political and civic disabilities of the Jews. 5. Freedom of the seas. 6. Gradual concerted disarmament. 7. Establishment of an international court of arbitration, with the commercial boycott as a means of punishment for disobedience.

The proposal was laid before President Wilson at the White House in January by Rep. London and a delegation from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, consisting of Morris Hillquit of New York and James

H. Maurer of Pennsylvania. Hearings were given to a score of advocates of the resolution, February 24 and 25, by the House Committee on Foreign Relations, Morris Hillquit leading the discussion on behalf of the Socialist Party. Spokesmen for labor, religious and peace organizations and for the oppressed nationalities of Europe took part. Hundreds of petitions in behalf of the resolution were filed with the Committee. No action resulted.

Hearings on the social insurance resolution were given by the Committee on Labor, of which London is a member, on May 6 and 11. Action by the Committee was long delayed, but a favorable report on the proposal to investigate the subject was granted. Action by the house this year was considered unlikely.

London at the outset of the session demanded and secured recognition in committee assignments as a separate minority. He voted alone against all increases in the army and navy, and against the use of American troops in Mexico.

At one stage of the fight over the Hay bill, increasing the army, London was recognized as the official minority, and was so enabled to use the parliamentary situation as to prevent an increase of the army from 140,000 to 250,000 men. He offered amendments forbidding the employment of militia in suppressing strikes, but was overruled. His speech on "Preparedness" was circulated to the extent of over 300,000 copies.

London spoke in favor of the Keating child labor bill, the eight hour day and other labor measures. He urged the publication of the report of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations. He led the fight against the bill disfranchising 165,000 workers in Porto Rico who had voted for 14 years.

He spoke in opposition to the literacy test in the Burnett immigration bill, both before the committee and on the floor of the House.

He advocated taxation of large incomes, of inheritances and of the speculative value of land. He voted against the sugar tariff. He voted for a government-owned and government-operated merchant marine, and demanded that the waterpower on the public domain be developed directly by the government rather than be disposed of to private interests.

Finally, he urged that a federal board be created to deal with the problems of river and harbor improvement, flood control, irrigation and reclamation, reforestation and the scientific development of the public lands and forests for the nation as a whole.

At intervals of four to six weeks London has made per-



sonal report on the work of Congress, addressing meetings of the voters of his district in public school auditoriums. At these meetings he has described the principal measures over which Congress has been struggling, and has answered questions put to him from the audience. This plan of keeping in touch with the sentiment of the voters has been generally commended in the press of the country.

London is a member of the House Committee on Labor, the Committee on Mines and Mining and the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Labor.

## II. STATE.

### Socialist Party State Legislators in Office January, 1915.

**California**—George W. Downing, Los Angeles.

L. A. Spengler, Los Angeles.

**Idaho**—E. W. Bowman (senator), Council, Adams Co.

**Illinois**—C. M. Madsen, Chicago.

Jos. M. Mason, Chicago.

**Kansas**—George D. Brewer, Girard.

**Massachusetts**—Charles H. Morrill, Haverhill.

**Minnesota**—A. O. Devold, Minneapolis.

J. W. Woodfill, Two Harbors.

**Montana**—Leslie A. Bechtel, S. Main Street, Butte.

Alexander Mackel, Silver Bow County, Silver Bow Blk., Butte.

**Nevada**—M. J. Scanlan (senator), holdover, Tonopah.

C. A. Steele, Yerington.

**New Mexico**—W. C. Tharp, Curry Co.

**New York**—A. I. Shiplacoff was elected to the Assembly in the Fall of 1915.

**Oklahoma**—C. E. Wilson, Cestos (senator).

N. D. Pritchett, Snyder (senator).

S. W. Hill, Roll.

C. H. Ingham, Ringwood.

D. S. Kirkpatrick, Seiling.

T. H. McLemore, Elk City.

**Pennsylvania**—James H. Maurer, Reading.

**Utah**—J. Alexander Bevan, Tooele.

**Wisconsin**—Louis A. Arnold (senator), Milwaukee.

H. O. Kent, Milwaukee.

Frank Metcalf, Milwaukee.

Carl Minkley, Milwaukee.

William L. Smith, Milwaukee.

George Tows, Milwaukee.

James Vint, Milwaukee.

Frank J. Weber, Milwaukee.

Edward Zinn, Milwaukee.

## Socialist Elected Officials Holding Office in 1915.

STATE	Mayors	Aldermen	Other Municipal Officials	Congressmen	State Legislators	School Officials	Other
Alabama						1	
Alaska						1	
Arizona		2					1
Arkansas		2				1	1
California		2	■		2	6	7
Colorado						2	1
Connecticut		2	3			8	3
Florida	1	1					1
Idaho					1	1	4
Illinois	1	18			2	5	18
Indiana	1	9	3				13
Iowa		5					13
Kansas						1	3
Kentucky						2	
Massachusetts			1		1		
Michigan						1	4
Minnesota	1	17	2		2	7	9
Mississippi							2
Missouri		1				4	
Montana	1	7			2	1	9
Nebraska		3					2
Nevada					2	1	4
New Jersey	1	13	1			12	17
New Mexico			1		1		
New York		6		1			7
North Dakota		1					3
Ohio	10	30	12			4	12
Oklahoma	1	4	1		6	30*	170
Oregon		1					
Pennsylvania	1	39	20		1	39	38
Porto Rico		8	1				2
South Dakota		3	1				
Utah	1	5	1		1		5
Washington	1	6	1			10	8
West Virginia	1	5	2				
Wisconsin	1	18	4		9	6	19

\* There are many school officials in Oklahoma of whom we have no record.

## WORK IN STATE LEGISLATURES.

We give as typical of Socialist accomplishments in the state legislatures the reports from six states, California, Illinois, Nevada, New York, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania.

THE WORK OF SOCIALIST LEGISLATORS  
IN CALIFORNIA.

(From a statement by Mr. Downing.)

Legislators Downing and Spengler succeeded in bringing 18 measures to a vote in the house. Of the eighteen, eleven passed the assembly, five of these passed the senate, and four

of the latter were signed by the governor and became laws. One was vetoed by the governor, and one was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Of the four Socialist bills that became laws the most important one provided that a voter moving from one precinct to another in the same county within thirty days of an election, may vote in his old precinct at that election. This was a bill intended to prevent the wholesale disfranchisement of workingmen, because of their moving from precinct to precinct. It was declared constitutional by the attorney general before it was passed, but was afterwards rendered unconstitutional by the supreme court, "almost before the ink was dry on it."

The Socialist bill giving women the right to serve on juries passed the assembly and the senate judiciary committee and was killed in the senate.

Five resolutions, introduced by Socialists, passed the assembly. They were memorials to Congress: 1st, to take steps toward government ownership of coal mines; 2nd, to prohibit the exportation of food and ammunition to the belligerent nations; 3rd, for full political rights for civil service employees; 4th, for world peace and an international congress and courts to settle international differences; 5th, a less expensive method of naturalization.

## WORK IN THE ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE.

(Report by Christian M. Madsen.)

The 49th General Assembly of the State of Illinois may be considered the most reactionary in a decade. The strength of the Progressive party had dwindled from 25 members in the House to two and they immediately joined in caucus with the Republicans. The Socialists who had elected four members to the House in the previous General Assembly were successful only in returning two and the old parties were in absolute control and feeling secure in their power.

As will be seen from the record on bills and resolutions not a single one of our measures passed or was given a chance for a final roll call in the House, and most of them were not even considered by the committees to which they had been referred.

Nevertheless, the two Socialists were able to make their presence felt in various ways. While we did not help to elect the speaker, but refrained from taking part in the prolonged deadlock, we received fair consideration in the appointment on committees where we were able to do some effective work. Joseph Mason was appointed on the committees for Revenues, Charities and Corrections, Enrolled

and Engrossed Bills, and License and Miscellany. I was made a member of the following committees: Education, Efficiency and Economy, Elections, and Industrial Affairs.

Nearly all Labor bills go to the committee on Industrial Affairs. I had been a member of this committee in the previous General Assembly and by hard and consistent effort helped to report out several bills which might otherwise have been buried.

As a member of a Sub-Committee on the Women's nine hour bill I had the pleasure of asking members of the manufacturing interests appearing against the bill, unpleasant though illuminating questions and finally succeeded in having the bill reported out unanimously with favorable recommendation from a committee which, when appointed, was considered "safe" by a majority of 6 to 3.

At a critical moment I was successful in saving this bill from being emasculated by an amendment on second reading in the house.

On several occasions the two Socialists in conjunction with a few radical members, under the rule granting a roll call upon the demand of five members, succeeded in putting old party politicians on record on important questions which they had been able to dodge at previous sessions and very often we would gain our point on a roll call when we would have lost on a *viva voce* vote.

The Socialists were also instrumental in defeating a number of obnoxious bills. Two bills in particular which had already passed the senate, one exacting heavy punishment for alleged attempts (?) to extort money from employers by business agents or representatives of labor organizations in connection with strikes, etc., and another enabling the jury Commissioners to establish a system of separate jury boxes, which might be used effectively to manipulate and tamper with the jury system.

The jury box bill was an old acquaintance. I helped to defeat it in the 48th General Assembly. I was practically the only member attacking these bills on the floor of the house, yet they were overwhelmingly defeated.

The jury bill which came within 3 votes of passing in 1913, receiving 74 affirmative votes, received only 58 at this session notwithstanding the fact that a lobby was maintained in the house in its favor, and several judges sent letters and telegrams urging its passage.

The anti-extortion bill was beaten so badly that its sponsor asked that further consideration be postponed, destroying the roll call.

It might be appropriate to mention in this connection the fact that I am, and have been for more than twenty years

an active member of organized labor and was in close touch with the labor representatives present in Springfield during the session. Thus I had come to be regarded as speaking not merely for the two Socialists in the house but in a sense as a representative of the labor movement in the state which of course gave considerable strength to my position. I would say, as my personal opinion, that only in this way can a few Socialists have any considerable influence in a legislative body where they are outnumbered almost 100 to 1.

### SOCIALIST LEGISLATION IN NEVADA.

For the session of 1913 M. J. Scanlan was elected to the state senate and I. F. Davis to the assembly. The legislature was opposed to the Socialists in every way, and their "most important bills were unceremoniously killed." At the next election, however, Scanlan was able to call the attention of the voters to the action of their representatives with the result that nearly every candidate who came up for re-election was defeated.

In the session of 1915 the Socialist Party was again represented by one member in each house, Scanlan remaining as a holdover and C. A. Steele having been elected to the Assembly.

More consideration was shown to the Socialist in the Senate than in the previous session, and Scanlan was able, as a member of the Committee on Labor, to secure favorable recommendation for several bills which otherwise might have been killed in Committee.

A bill was passed at this session providing for the state mine inspector to post a copy of his report at the entrance of each mine.

The following is the record of bills introduced by Scanlan in the senate during both sessions:

- Allowing electors three hours to vote.—Became a law.
- Providing for commercial course in 9th grade.—Passed.
- Child Pension Bill. Signed by the Governor.
- Semi-monthly pay-day.
- Safety of employees working on high power electric lines.
- Redemption of property under tax sales within two years.
- Abolishing capital punishment.
- Prohibiting inaccurate meters and making it a misdemeanor to charge more than the actual amount consumed.
- Universal Eight Hour Law.
- To entitle poor persons to carry case through courts without putting up costs.
- Enabling persons without means to carry case to Supreme Court.
- Requiring mines to be ventilated so as to keep the temperature below 85 degrees.
- Repeal of all Poll-tax laws.
- To prohibit the employment of armed men by private persons.
- Six hour shift in mines where temperature exceeds 85 degrees.
- Repealing Poll-tax section of Constitution;
- Repealing veto power of the Governor.



## THE WORK OF THE SOCIALIST IN THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY.

(By Assemblyman A. I. Shiplacoff.)

In the short space of an article in a book of this nature, it is rather difficult to sum up the experiences of a lone Socialist member of a State legislature, particularly when it has to be done by the "afflicted" himself. The difficulty is due to the fact that my work in the Assembly was chiefly of a negative nature.

Quite early in the session I realized that the chances for having any of my bills voted out of the committees and presented on the floor of the Assembly, were very scarce. This was not the result of any antagonistic feeling toward the "lone red," but almost entirely due to the fact that I was not open for bargaining; for the success or failure of getting one's bill out of a committee depends mainly on one's willingness to exchange courtesies. This condition was well illustrated by the pointed answer an ambitious young law-maker gave me when I protested against his voting for a certain vicious measure. "I had to vote for Mr. D's bill," declared the Assemblyman, "because there are a couple of my bills in a committee of which he is a member." Having no concessions to make, I had no hopes of getting any in return.

Having this in view, I divided my efforts between trying to advance my own bills and putting up a fight against the bills which were opposed to the interests of labor, or were otherwise of a vicious nature.

The first bill that I opposed in the Committee of Labor and Industries, of which I was a member, was the Mackey bill exempting the milk and dairy workers of the state from the one-day-rest-in-seven law. The committee "accidentally" consisted of several men directly interested in the dairy business, and the rest were manufacturers; so that my protests and arguments against the bill fell on unwilling ears.

That bill, in one form or another, appeared on the floor of the Assembly about twelve times, and in each case I succeeded in foiling the attempt to pass it. My activity in connection with that bill became so conspicuous that representatives of religious societies and social reform lobbyists congratulated me several times on my success in checking its progress.

The bill, in a milder form, ultimately passed the Assembly with the doubtful count of 76 votes. In the Senate,

where there was no labor representative, the bill passed without any difficulty by unanimous consent.

Bills of a similar nature, against which I fought, were the Wells Constabulary bill, popularly known as the bill for the establishment of the Cossack system in the state; Nicker-son's bill for the repeal of the Full Crew Law; the infamous Argetsinger bill, containing a clause for the extension of the hours of labor for women in the canneries; the Taylor bills, aiming to repeal the present factory safety laws, etc.

Besides the bills which tended to injure the workers, there were also bills, which, for the want of a better name, I would call anti-social bills.

I was the only one to oppose the Welsh-Slater bills providing for military training in the schools.

Several public hearings were held on some of the bills which I introduced. At these hearings there were representatives from central bodies of labor unions, from civic organizations and experts on the questions involved in the bills.

Following is a list of bills and resolutions I introduced:

1. A bill providing that an employer during a strike or lockout, when advertising for help, should plainly mention in the advertisement or oral or written solicitation that a strike or lockout exists.

2. A bill requiring evening sessions of naturalization courts in cities of the first and second class.

3. A bill making the annual appropriation for local boards of widowed mothers' funds, mandatory instead of optional.

4. A bill making the provisions relative to exits in factory buildings more than two stories, and stairway enclosures in factory buildings more than five stories, applicable to all factory buildings over one story in height.

5. A bill requiring every factory building more than six stories and with more than 5,000 square feet in area to have at least one dividing fire wall, providing horizontal lines.

6. A bill requiring factories to make quarterly reports to the Labor Department relative to change of ownership or location, number of employees, giving the Labor Commission power to close a factory for non-compliance with labor law provisions.

7. A bill making it a felony for any person or corporation to employ armed guards as policemen or peace officers for protection of person or property, or suppression of strikes, whether such men are employees of detective agencies or not; also making it a felony for detective agencies or others to keep a private detective officer or to furnish such armed men; compelling all armed forces to be citizens of the state, subject to police authority under State or Municipal control.

8. A bill giving complainant in an action for wages reasonable attorney's fees, to be allowed by the court, where he recovers the amount claimed.

9. A bill providing that the compensation for specific permanent partial disabilities, shall be in addition to all other compensation during disability.

10. A bill prohibiting the employment of children under 16 years of age in a factory.

11. A resolution urging the Senators and Congressmen, representing the State of New York, to oppose the Burnett Immigration bill and to vote against it.

12. A resolution to create a commission for the purpose of investigating the feasibility of consolidating the five counties comprised within the territory of Greater New York into one county.

13. A resolution to authorize the Thompson Investigation Committee to investigate the condition under which the workers of the I. R. T. and B. R. T. are employed, and report its findings to the Legislature, for the purpose of remedial legislation.

14. A resolution to print 50,000 copies of the new compensation law in the Jewish language. The last is the only resolution that was passed by both houses.

## SOCIALIST LEGISLATION IN OKLAHOMA.

The following table will show the steady growth of the Socialist vote since 1907, the year in which the state was admitted to the Union.

Year	Party	Number of Votes
1907.....	Democratic .....	137,000
	Republican .....	110,000
	Socialist .....	9,000
1908.....	Democratic .....	122,000
	Republican .....	110,000
	Socialist .....	21,000
1910.....	Democratic .....	120,000
	Republican .....	99,000
	Socialist .....	24,000
1912.....	Democratic .....	119,000
	Republican .....	94,000
	Socialist .....	42,000
1914.....	Democratic .....	100,000
	Republican .....	95,000
	Socialist .....	52,000

The Democratic party has steadily lost votes since the first State election. In 1907 the Democrats cast 137,000 votes, a clear majority over the combined opposition. Look at the present situation! In 1914 the Democrats had barely 100,000, while the combined opposition numbered almost 150,000. Of these votes the Socialists cast more than 50,000.

The membership of the party has grown in three years from 600 to 9,000.

As a result of the steady loss of the dominant Democratic party, unfair registration laws have been passed with the evident intention of disfranchising a large proportion of the Socialist and of the Negro voters. Twice the Socialists have filed large initiative petitions for a fair election law, but in each case the Governor has failed to issue the proclamation preliminary to submitting the matter to referendum vote. The contest this year is centering chiefly around the effort to secure fair elections and to safeguard the initiative and referendum.

The report of State Senator George E. Wilson is in part as follows: "While we presented a number of bills

beneficial to the working class, none of them received a hearing. The State office through our efficient secretary H. M. Sinclair has always been ready to help us."

The chief bills presented were: several to safeguard the referendum from veto by the Governor, declaration of unconstitutionality, and amendment or repeal by the legislature; several to remedy financial conditions by means of United States loans, State insurance and State banking; the abolition of the State senate; the renting of State land to landless farmers; and the building of public warehouses by counties and their subdivisions.

### LEGISLATION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

(Report of James H. Maurer, Assemblyman of the First Legislative District of Berks County.)

In 1910, when I was elected to represent my home district in the State Legislature, our enemies said my election was an accident and that it would never happen again. Besides, standing alone, there was nothing to fear from me. Our friends said, "The 'Lone Socialist' can accomplish nothing and we feel sorry for him."

Our opponents instituted legal proceedings against me, to have my election annulled on the grounds that, before the election I had, in a speech, said that, if elected, I would contribute one-third of my salary to our local tuberculosis sanatorium which I later did. So strong was the protest by the citizens that the politicians begged the Court to allow them to withdraw the charges against me. The Court finally consented and I was allowed to fill the position to which I had been elected.

During my first two months as a legislator, I did little more than learn the tricks of the legislative game and make friends. Once I felt that I had my legislative feet, I, very modestly, commenced to get into the real work. I introduced several bills; among them, one to abolish the State Constabulary and also the Compensation bill. All my bills were strangled to death in committee.

Someone else also introduced a Workmen's Compensation bill and this one went to a committee of which I was a member. Not being able to get action on my own, I got back of the other fellow's and we did succeed in having it voted on in the House. This meant the beginning of agitation for legislation along this line. But, not until four years later, in 1915, did we succeed in having the law finally enacted.

I soon discovered that party politics played a great part in having laws enacted; that no matter how good my pro-

posed measures might be, many old party members would not support them, because they did not want any credit given to a rival organization. I also discovered that, when the capitalist political machine issued orders, men, unhesitatingly, voted against their convictions. My first object lesson was when I fought against a bill which proposed increasing the State Constabulary. Our victory was glorious, having won by a vote of 117 against 70. The interests then woke up and all the powers at their command were brought into action. The machine issued orders and a week later a motion was made to reconsider our action on the Police bill. We fought against it, but our action was reconsidered and a week later the bill was passed by a vote of 113 for the constabulary and 65 against it. The first vote expressed the convictions of the legislators, and the second vote expressed their loyalty to the capitalist machine. I then changed my methods of operation. Bills which I felt had a chance for passage, I gave to others to introduce and I simply encouraged their passage.

Powerful as the machine is, its operation must cost considerable, because small interests seldom get the use of it, or, perhaps, seldom can afford to pay its price. The Merchants' Association, for several sessions, tried to have garnishee bills passed, without the aid of the machine and we succeeded in defeating their every effort. The same is true of the Real Estate men, with their eviction bills.

Less than a year after my first legislative experiences I was elected president of the State Federation of Labor. We, at once, busied ourselves building an organization capable of combating the machine and, by the time that the 1913 legislative session came along, we were fairly well prepared for the fray. At this session we centered our forces on Woman and Child Labor bills, Workmen's Compensation, Mothers' Pensions, New Department of Factory Inspection and forty other measures of less importance. The Woman Labor, Mothers' Pensions and Factory Inspection bills passed and fourteen other labor measures, including the semi-monthly pay. Besides, we gave the State Constabulary its first thrashing. In fact, we succeeded in defeating every obnoxious measure aimed at labor. And the machine found itself confronted with an enemy which threatened to exterminate it. From that time on, every trick known to the interests and their tools, the politicians, has been resorted to in an effort to destroy the influence of the Federation.

In 1914, I was again elected to the legislature and served during the session of 1915 and am still the "Lone Socialist" legislator of the State. I am also serving my fourth term as president of the State Federation of Labor.



During the 1915 session, we again centered our forces on Child Labor, Workmen's Compensation, State Employment Agencies and some thirty other labor measures. The Child Labor, Compensation and State Employment Agency bills were all enacted and thirteen other labor measures, of less importance. Besides, we brought about the defeat of every bill obnoxious to us, among which was a measure to increase the State Constabulary and some fifteen others. And, of course, the interests, with their political henchmen, are redoubling their efforts to weaken or destroy us. With what success they will meet this year, remains to be seen.

Space only permits me to give the reader a slight idea of the experience of the "Lone Socialist" Assemblyman of Pennsylvania, or the power for good that the State Federation of Labor is. If space permitted, I should like to give the history of our efforts toward abolishing the old and useless department of Factory Inspection and the establishing of the new department, and of our activities in helping to draft rules and regulations, governing the activities of the new department. In fact, there are many things I should like to write about on this subject.

I might add, however, that those who thought that the "Lone Socialist" could not accomplish anything, have good reasons to change their minds and, had I stood alone as many thought I would, my legislative victories would have been few and far between, but I did not stand alone. Back of me were nearly five hundred thousand organized workers and the Socialist Party, with its assistance and the loyalty of every member. Who couldn't get results under such conditions? The credit for what has been accomplished, therefore, belongs to the rank and file and not to me.

The following are the titles of some of the bills I introduced, some of which are now laws and some of which will be laws if we keep on the job. Some of the other bills, prepared by us but sponsored by other Assemblymen, are mentioned above. With others, we only played our part in creating public sentiment, advised in drafting the bills and used the pressure of our organizations to have the law-makers vote for them.

House Resolution, No. 3, petitioning the President and the United States Congress to prohibit the exporting of food supplies and the lending of money to any of the nations now at war.

An Act to repeal the Gunners' License Act.

An Act to abolish the Public Service Commission.

Amending the Act of 1913, providing for the incorporation, regulation and government of Third Class Cities.

To compel employers in certain industries to give employees one day of rest in seven.

Increasing the appropriation for Mothers' Pensions to two millions of dollars.

An act to prohibit house-property owners from renting their houses

to Real Estate Agents and Speculators and invalidating all future contracts between owners of house-property and house-renting agents and speculators.

An Act permitting fishing on Sunday.

An Act to regulate advertising for employees during labor troubles and making it compulsory to state that a strike or lockout is then on.

Making life-protective provisions for persons working in tunnels, caissons, etc., where compressed air is being used.

An Act authorizing each city in the Commonwealth to prepare, adopt and amend its own charter.

Dealing with Occupational Diseases.

Empowering the Department of Labor and Industry to investigate the question of minimum wages for women and minors.

A Joint Resolution for an amendment to the constitution, providing for the Recall of Public Officers.

A Joint Resolution to amend the constitution and to establish the Initiative and Referendum.

An Act empowering the Commissioner of Labor and Industry to appoint fifty additional inspectors and increasing the clerical help in the department.

Making it not unlawful to organize and do anything collectively that may legally be done singly.

Making an appropriation of two millions of dollars to be expended in public work so as to employ those suffering from lack of employment.

Providing for taking care of persons who may be thrown out of work by a local option bill, until such time as employment shall have been found for them.

Providing for the establishment of a Graduated State Income Tax, limiting incomes to ten thousand a year and thus raising a fund to employ otherwise unemployed citizens on public works.

Bill to restore to the wife the full right of the three-hundred-dollar law.

Bill to protect motormen and conductors against perils of open vestibule cars and running boards.

Bill for State ownership of coal mines and providing for the sale of coal at cost-price for domestic purposes.

Bill to abolish State Constabulary.

Bill for Semi-Monthly Pay.

Bill to pension the blind.

### III. MUNICIPAL.

In 1910 Milwaukee elected a Socialist administration under Mayor Seidel. It failed of re-election owing to a fusion of the two old parties, but the Socialist vote has grown steadily and in 1916 Daniel Hoan was elected mayor, with Emil Seidel as alderman at large; the Socialists have not, however, a majority in the city council.

The year 1911 brought three other important cities under Socialist rule, Berkeley, California; Butte, Montana, and Schenectady, New York. Mayor Wilson was not reelected in Berkeley; Mayor Duncan was re-elected in Butte, and Mayor Lunn, though failing of re-election, came again into office in 1916.

As will be seen from the table on a previous page, there were 22 Socialist mayors in the country in 1915. Barre, Vermont, is a municipality that has elected a Socialist mayor in 1916.

## THE BERKELEY MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION.

(By J. Stitt Wilson, in *The Western Comrade*, Sept., 1913.)

As a matter of fact Berkeley has never had a "Socialist Administration." There have been a Socialist mayor and one councilman in a board of five. The anti-Socialist majority worked harmoniously with us on general municipal matters, but stood pat for capitalism each time we presented a genuine Socialist proposition.

In this paragraph I can only make a list of the important municipal improvements which has marked my administration in Berkeley. I copy the list from my annual report to the City council on vacating the office:

1. Municipal incinerator.
2. Municipal garage and ambulance.
3. Municipal laboratory.
4. Municipal employment bureau.
5. Perfection of the police flashlight system.
6. Additional fire department.
7. New heating apparatus.
8. Extensive street improvements.
9. Spotless town campaigns.
10. New corporation yards.
11. Passing sewer bonds.

Just a word about municipal finances. When I entered the city hall of Berkeley we had but \$12,000 surplus in the general fund. At the close of my first year we had a net balance of \$27,000. When I took charge, the total funds available from all sources was \$32,000, but I left for my successor \$60,000, besides \$50,000 in the treasury for the incinerator. One of the attacks made during our campaign was that the Socialists would ruin the finance of the city; that the candidate for mayor was a good "talker," but "what business could he attend to?" This criticism was soon silenced. The finances of the city of Berkeley were never in better condition and everybody knows it.

Moreover, strange to say, I introduced an amendment to the city charter providing that the tax rate might be raised to \$1.00 for purely municipal purposes; that is an increase of 25 cents. I wrote and talked and worked for this increase and the people carried it by a big majority. We did not raise the rate, but simply provided for a raise by charter amendment for future emergencies.

## THE BUTTE MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION.

(From an account of his administration by Mayor Lewis Duncan in the *Kokomo Socialist*, November, 1913.)

We found a bankrupt city on our hands in 1911. We

succeeded, however, in forcing the old party aldermen to consent to raising the rate of taxation for city purposes from 12.1 mills to 16.2 mills. We cut out every unnecessary salaried employee; reduced the police force to the minimum necessity. In less than seven months we had the city safely inside the legal limit of indebtedness; in four months' time, city warrants which had been discounted all the way from 20 to 30 per centum, passed at 95 per cent, and in eight months they were passing at par.

The city of Butte, in the spring of 1911, was one of the filthiest in the country. Butte is now one of the healthiest cities of its size in the United States. Inside the city limits (excepting tuberculosis cases), the average death rate to population was  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  lower from May, 1911, to May, 1913, than from May, 1909, to May, 1911, and the monthly average of cases of infectious and contagious diseases has fallen from 60 in 1909-10, and 73 in 1910-11, to 27 in 1911-12 and 36 in 1912-13.

## THE MILWAUKEE MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION.

(By Emil Seidel in "What we have done in Milwaukee.")

The Socialists under Mayor Seidel were hampered in their work by the fact that several departments of the city were not completely under their control, that the city possessed only a limited measure of self-government, that they had inherited a large and indefinite municipal deficit, and that certain appropriations made by a previous administration had to be provided for in the budget. Moreover, many of the new departures originated by them were hardly capable of establishment in the short space of two years. The following are a few of the actual accomplishments: An inventory, a modern budget, and monthly financial statements were adopted, with a sound system of bookkeeping and cross-checking; a Bureau of Economy and Efficiency was organized, with a reorganization of the department of public works and a consequent saving of public money in various directions, for example, the reduction of the cost of asphalt pavement from \$2.30 to \$1.35 per square foot; a social survey was set in motion, with the appointment of various active commissions, among these being commissions on housing, tuberculosis, child welfare and the unemployed; an eight-hour ordinance was passed applying to all municipal work, the wages of street laborers were raised from \$1.75 to \$2.00 per day, and the police force was forbidden to take sides in the case of a strike.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE MILWAUKEE  
ADMINISTRATION.

BY CARL D. THOMPSON.

The following is a partial list of the labor measures introduced or put into operation by the Milwaukee Socialist administration:

1. Raised the wages of all the city laborers from \$1.75 per day to \$2 per day, and thus fixed the minimum scale.
2. Established the trade union scale of wages for all skilled employes of the city.
3. Established the eight-hour workday by ordinance for all public employes, whether working for the city or by contractors employed by the city.
4. Union labor employed exclusively in all departments wherever mechanics are employed.
5. Raised the wages of 132 employes on the Sixteenth Street viaduct to the union scale.
6. Helped to settle the garment workers' strike.
7. Secured the union label on every piece of public printing.
8. Passed an engineers' license ordinance, for which the engineers' union had been fighting for twenty years. This ordinance forces every engineer to pass an examination, thereby elevating the conditions of the engineer and protecting the lives of thousands of working men and women against careless and incompetent workmen.
9. Passed an ordinance licensing every elevator operator in the city. This ordinance forces every operator to pass an examination, thereby elevating the conditions of the operator and protecting the lives of thousands of patrons of elevators every day against careless and incompetent workmen.
10. Under the county administration the Grand Avenue viaduct was built by union labor.
11. Through the influence of the Socialist members of the County Board of Supervisors the new County Agricultural School will be built by union labor in its entirety.
12. Through the influence of the City Purchasing Department the H. H. West and Siekert & Baum printing and bindery establishments were organized.
13. All horseshoeing done only in union shops by order of the Department of Public Works.
14. Secured an addition of two days "offs" for the policemen each month.
15. The new police and fire alarm posts were cast in a union shop and bear the label of the Molders' International Union. And, incidentally, the posts cost \$10 apiece less than the next lowest bid of a non-union shop—thus saving the



taxpayers \$6,000 on the 600 posts and giving us the union label besides.

16. Wherever possible, this administration has done the work of repair, remodeling and building by direct employment, employing union labor.

17. All sprinkling wagons are now repaired and painted directly by the city by union labor, and for the first time in the history of the city they bear the union label.

18. All street refuse cans bear the label of the Sheet Metal Workers' and Painters' International Unions.

19. Every bridgetender in the city, numbering eighty-eight, organized, and where they formerly worked 22 hours in a shift, the majority are now employed on a twelve-hour shift, and all will be placed on a twelve-hour shift as soon as possible. An attempt was made to increase the wages, but this was defeated by the combined Republicans and Democrats to a man voting to kill the increase. By a parliamentary trick they succeeded in laying the matter over for two weeks, thereby defeating the increase.

20. Every fireman, engineer, oiler, coal passer and helper in the city and county buildings now belongs to his respective union. Every man is now carrying a union card. And, besides, the men now have one day off in seven, something never before enjoyed, as they formerly worked seven days per week.

21. The C. F. Conway Company of Chicago bid on the asphalt street paving and was the successful bidder, but the administration was informed that this firm was fighting union labor in Chicago for the past three years. The administration succeeded in persuading this firm to yield to union demands and organize its men, not only in Milwaukee, but also in Chicago, thereby materially assisting the engineers and other trades in the street paving industry.

22. All elevator operators working for the city and county have been organized into a union known as Elevator Operators' Union No. 13803 and affiliated with the Federated Trades Council and the American Federation of Labor.

23. The elevator inspectors were induced to join the union of the elevator constructors of Milwaukee.

24. Garbage and ash collectors have been organized through the assistance of the administration.

25. This administration inaugurated a thorough and systematic factory inspection to insure steady improvement of sanitary conditions of labor.

26. Established a child welfare department to help in the problem of childhood through the teaching and assistance of mothers. Reports printed in all papers.

27. Established a tuberculosis commission to help the people in the fight against that dread disease.

**SCHENECTADY MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION.**

Vote for Mayor in 1911—Lunn elected.

Socialist—6536

Democrat—4536

Republican—3922

Vote in 1913—Lunn defeated.

Fusion—9136, including Republican, Democrat.

Progressive

Socialist—7432

Vote in 1915—Lunn elected.

Socialist—6069

Republican—5041

Democrat—3435

**ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF LUNN'S FIRST TERM.**

(From the Mayor's message, February, 1913.)

**City's Operating Cost Reduced.**

"The present administration began its term with a budget some \$37,000 larger than the budget of the year 1911, but the budget for 1912 included items for bond redemption and interest, amounting to \$60,000 above that for the same item in the budget of 1911, thereby making the 1912 budget actually less in the way of operating cost for the city's business. We were able to do this by cutting expenses at every point possible in the interest of true economy. Superfluous positions were eliminated.

**Laborers given another Wage Increase.**

"Notwithstanding the increase which was made by the administration at the beginning of 1912, raising the pay of laborers from \$1.75 to \$2.00 per day, we have made still another advance, so that laborers hereafter shall receive \$2.25 per day."

Other definite accomplishments of the administration were the appointment of a maternity and infancy nurse, and the establishment of a municipal lodging house, municipal store, dispensary, dental clinic, and department of chemistry. The milk inspection was reorganized, a board of public welfare was established, and arrangements were made for a garbage disposal plant with collection of garbage and ashes at the city's expense.

**5. PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM WITH RECENT DECISIONS REGARDING THEM.**

The Constitution and Platform of the Socialist Party are in every case authoritative regarding specific problems. Space forbids the printing of these herewith, but they always may be obtained from the Socialist Party on application.

In the following pages we mention only a few of the problems upon which opinion within the party has not yet crystallized, or upon which declaration has been made so far by other means than the constitution and platform.

## 1. POLITICAL VERSUS DIRECT ACTION.

### a. Socialist Party.

The following extracts from the Constitution of the S. P. as approved by referendum in 1912 set forth the party attitude in this matter:

"Art. II, Sec. 1. Every person who subscribes to the principles of the Socialist Party, including political action—shall be eligible to membership in the party.

Sec. 6. Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates crime, sabotage, or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in the party. Political action shall be construed to mean participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist Party platform."

Section 6 above was "opposed by a large minority in the party. Although it was passed by referendum a substitute of contrary import was also passed, but the latter action was declared void by the party authorities.

(Representative party discussions on political action may be found in "The Socialism of To-day," p. 221-228, and on sabotage in pages 381-388 of the same book.)

### b. Socialist Labor Party.

"We therefore call upon the wage workers to organize themselves into a revolutionary political organization under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party." (Platform of 1916.)

"Declaration in favor of revolutionary political action of the working class under the Socialist banner, without any fusion or compromise on candidates or Socialist principles, whatever." (Irreducible Minimum of Principles in Basis and Form of Unity, 1916.)

## 2. LABOR UNIONS.

### a. Socialist Party.

The following extracts from the resolution adopted by the convention of 1912 make clear the official attitude of the Socialist Party regarding labor unions:

1. "That the party has neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor-union move-

ment over questions of form of organization or technical methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve these questions.

2. That the Socialists call the attention of their brothers in the labor unions to the vital importance of the task of organizing the unorganized, especially the immigrants and the unskilled laborers. . . . The Socialist Party will ever be ready to co-operate with the labor unions in the task of organizing the unorganized workers, and urges all labor organizations, who have not already done so, to throw their doors wide open to the workers of their respective trades and industries, abolishing all onerous conditions of membership and artificial restrictions.

3. That it is the duty of the party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalist oppression.

4. That it is the duty of the members of the Socialist Party who are eligible to membership in the unions to join and be active in their respective labor organizations." (See discussions of the subject in "The Socialism of To-day," p. 379-381, and also the treatment of Labor Unions in the various sections of the present volume.)

### b. Socialist Labor Party.

"Conquer the workshops for your own and your children's use by organizing your industrial battalions into the Workers' International Industrial Union with headquarters at Detroit, Mich." (Platform of S. L. P., 1916.)

"Whereas, 'Neutrality' toward economic organizations of Labor on the part of a political party of Socialism is equivalent to neutrality toward organizations that endorse and support the system of private ownership of the social means of producing wealth.

"Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party show the fallacy of craft unionism, and urge the workers to organize industrially on the principles of the Workers' International Industrial Union." (Resolution on Economic Organization, 1916.)

### Socialist Party Contribution to Strike Funds.

(Appeal Almanac, 1916, Page 184.)

1902	Anthracite Miners' Strike Fund .....	\$9,967.15
1906	W. F. of M. defense fund .....	4,141.79
1907	W. F. of M. defense fund .....	10,810.48
1908	W. F. of M. defense fund .....	1,003.88
1909	Swedish Strikers' fund .....	6,318.91
1910	Swedish Strikers' fund .....	302.43
1910-11	Garment Workers' strike fund .....	10,601.54
1912	Lawrence strike fund .....	18,630.97
	Ettor-Giovannitti defense fund .....	417.50
	Timber Workers' strike fund .....	307.25
	Muscatine strike fund .....	147.03
	Little Falls strike fund .....	833.39
1913	West Virginia strike fund .....	65.50
	Machinists' strike fund .....	3.96
	Paterson strike fund .....	19.20
	Belgium Suffrage strike fund .....	142.05
	Garment Workers' (N. Y.) strike fund.....	158.65
	Little Falls strike fund .....	18.75

1913-14	Calumet strike fund (to Oct. 1).....	30,912.01
	Colorado strike fund (to Oct. 1).....	2,163.45
		<hr/>
		\$96,965.89

Strike childrens' relief fund (to Oct. 1)... 6,352.51

Grand total ..... \$103,318.40

### 3. AGRICULTURE.

#### a. Socialist Party.

The following "Farmers' Program" was adopted at the National Convention of 1912:

1. The Socialist Party demands that the means of transportation and storage and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery shall be socially owned and democratically managed.

2. To prevent the holding of land out of use and to eliminate tenantry, we demand that all farm land not cultivated by owners shall be taxed at its full rental value, and that actual use and occupancy shall be the only title to land.

3. We demand the retention by the national, state or local governing bodies of all land owned by them, and the continuous acquirement of other lands by reclamation, purchase, condemnation, taxation, or otherwise. such lands to be organized as rapidly as possible into socially operated farms for the conduct of collective agricultural enterprises.

4. Such farms should constitute educational and experimental centers for crop culture, the use of fertilizers and farm machinery, and distributing points for improved seeds and better breeds of animals.

5. The formation of co-operative associations for agricultural purposes should be encouraged.

6. Insurance against diseases of animals and plants, insect pests, and natural calamities should be provided by national, state, or local governments.

7. We call attention to the fact that the elimination of farm tenantry and the development of socially owned and operated agriculture will open new opportunities to the agricultural wage-worker and free him from the tyranny of the private employer.

In addition to the above program, the Convention of 1912 made the following demands:

1. The erection by the state at convenient points of elevators and warehouses for the storage of grain, potatoes, and other farm products; and connected with these, provisions for municipal markets wherever the people of the community desire. We call attention to the fact that constitutional amendments providing for these measures were killed by the old parties in the last legislature.

2. Establishment by the state of one or more plants for the manufacture of farm machinery and binder twine.

3. State or county loans on mortgages and warehouse receipts, the interest charges to cover the cost only.

4. State insurance against destruction of animals and crops.

#### b. Socialist Labor Party.

The declaration which follows, copied from the Maximum Demands for Unity, shows a distinct though not ir-



reconcilable difference from the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the farmer:

"3. Declaration that the United Socialist Party aims to socialize, along with other means of production, all land used for the production of commodities, whether such land be owned by a big or small farmer, or be tilled by wage labor or otherwise."

#### 4. THE TARIFF.

Neither of the two American Socialist parties makes a platform declaration regarding the tariff.

The Socialist Party convention of 1912 inserted and afterwards struck out a plank demanding "the gradual reduction of all tariff duties, particularly those on the necessities of life." The discussion of the matter in the Convention showed, however, that the party definitely favors free trade, but prefers not to make an issue of the tariff, on the ground that the working-man is affected very little by changes in import duties provided the capitalist system is allowed to continue. (See "The Socialism of Today," p. 482-4.)

#### 5. IMMIGRATION AND THE RACE PROBLEM.

##### a. Resolution of the International Socialist Congress of 1907, at Stuttgart. (Extracts only.)

"1. Prohibition of the export and import of such workmen as have entered into a contract—

3. Abolition of all restrictions which exclude definite nationalities or races from the right of sojourn in the country and from the political and economic rights of natives, or make the acquisition of these rights more difficult for them.

4. For the trade-unions of all countries the following principles shall have universal application in connection with it:

a. Unrestricted admission of immigrant workingmen to the trade-unions of all countries.—"

##### b. Socialist Party.

The American Socialist Party has not yet arrived at a definite stand regarding the immigration question.

The committee appointed to report on the matter to the Congress of 1910 brought in a resolution favoring exclusion; this resolution was defeated, however, and a substitute adopted. At the Congress of 1912 the majority of the committee on Immigration again brought in a resolution favoring exclusion, while the minority proposed the reaffirmation of

the Stuttgart resolution. No action was taken by the Congress and the committee was continued.

In 1901 the Unity Convention adopted resolutions on the Negro question containing the following:

"Resolved, that we declare to the negro worker the identity of his interests and struggles with the interests and struggles of all workers of all lands without regard to race or color or sectional lines;—that the only line of division which exists in fact is that between the producers and the owners of the world—between capitalism and labor—that we, the American Socialist Party, invite the negro to membership and fellowship with us—"

## 6. THE LIQUOR PROBLEM.

### The Socialist Party.

The following resolution was adopted at the National Socialist Convention, 1912.

"The manufacture and sale for profit of intoxicating and adulterated liquors leads directly to many social evils. Intemperance in the use of alcoholic liquors weakens the physical, mental and moral powers.

"We hold, therefore, that any excessive indulgence in intoxicating liquors, by members of the working class is a serious obstacle to the triumph of our class, since it impairs the vigor of the fighters in the political and economic struggle, and we urge the members of the working class to avoid any indulgence which might impair their ability to wage a successful political and economic struggle, and so hinder the progress of the movement for their emancipation.

"We do not believe that the evils of alcoholism can be eradicated by oppressive measures or any extension of the police powers of the capitalist state—alcoholism is a disease of which capitalism is the chief cause. Poverty, overwork and overworry necessarily result in intemperance on the part of the victims. To abolish the wage system with all its evils is the surest way to eliminate the evils of alcoholism and the traffic in intoxicating liquor."

## 7. WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Platform of the **Socialist Party** demands "unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women."

In 1912 Congressman Berger introduced in the House of Representatives a joint resolution including the following:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

## 8. MILITARISM AND WAR.

### The General Problem.

Of several manifestoes issued by the National Executive

Committee we give extracts from that adopted by the National Committee, May, 1915, and later ratified by a referendum of the members of the Party.

**I. "Terms of peace at the close of the present war should be based on the following provisions:**

1. No indemnities.
2. No transfer of territory except upon the consent and by the vote of the people within the territory.
3. All countries under foreign rule be given political independence if demanded by the inhabitants of such countries.

## **II. International Federation.**

Special commissions to consider international disputes as they may arise. The decisions of such commissions to be enforced without resort to arms.

## **III. Disarmament.**

1. Universal disarmament as speedily as possible.
2. Pending complete disarmament:
  - a. Abolition of the manufacture of arms and munitions of war for private profit and prohibition of exportation of arms, war equipment, and supplies from one country to another.
  - b. No increase in existing armaments under any circumstances.
  - c. No appropriations for military or naval purposes.

## **IV. Extension of Democracy.**

1. Political democracy.
  - a. Abolition of secret diplomacy; democratic control of foreign policies.
  - b. Universal suffrage, including woman suffrage.
2. Industrial democracy.

In 1915 a referendum was passed by a vote of 11,041 to 782 expelling any elected official of the Socialist party who should give his vote for war or war credits.

On the opening day of Congress, in the fall of 1915, Meyer London introduced a resolution calling upon President Wilson to convene a congress of neutral nations to attempt to mediate between the warring nations of Europe. This resolution was afterwards introduced in the Senate by a Democratic Senator.

## **Preparedness.**

### **a. Socialist Party.**

The extracts already given from the Manifesto of September, 1915, contain the following demands:

"a. No increase in existing armaments under any circumstances.

"b. No appropriations for military or naval purposes."

Congressman Meyer London was the only member of the House of Representatives to vote against the Hay Bill,

of March, 1916, which increased the size of the regular army from 100,000 to 140,000 men.—(*N. Y. Call*, March 24, 1916.)

In the vote of the Socialist Party for candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States in 1916, the highest figures were given to Allan L. Benson and George R. Kirkpatrick respectively, who were known chiefly as opponents of war and preparedness. Benson received 16,639 votes as against 12,265 for the next on the list, and Kirkpatrick 20,597 as against 11,118.

## Message from Benson.

“Yonkers, N. Y., March 12.—To the members of the Socialist Party of the United States:

The campaign of 1916 opens at a time when the world is passing through the blackest period of modern history. What the civilization of the future is to be or indeed, whether there is to be any civilization, is beyond the power of the human mind to know. Humanity having sown in ignorance, is reaping in agony.

It is for us in this dark hour of the world's need to consecrate ourselves anew to the principles for which we stand. It is for us, who know what it was that unloosed upon Europe titanic forces of destruction to proclaim to all men that upon the capitalist system lies the guilt. In the United States the sun is still shining, but its rays are coming through a rift in black clouds that may at any time shut off the light and turn on the lightning. If ever there was need of devotion to a just cause, it is now.

If ever there was a time when our philosophy should be convincing it is now. Yesterday, we were dismissed as unpleasant theorists, to-day Europe is writing in letters of fire and blood athwart her midnight sky: “This war was caused by the greeds and hatreds engendered by the capitalist system.” Great groups of capitalists fell out over a matter of trade and plunder—wherefore millions were made to die.”

## b. Socialist Labor Party.

The resolution on Preparedness, 1916, contains the following:

“We recognize in the military ‘preparedness’ program of the owning class a movement hostile to the interests and lives of the working people and maintain that the only ‘national defense’ program worthy of the workers’ attention is the kind that contemplates defense of their own class interests against the only real enemy, which is the capitalist class, irrespective of country.”

The following extracts are from the Irreducible Demands for Unity:

“1. That the navy, the army, and all other militarist establishments, advocated under the pretext of “preparedness” against foreign invasion, are maintained in reality for the twofold purpose:

- a. To protect the capitalist class against rebellious workers.
- b. To secure for the capitalist class of various countries a better opportunity—— to realize cash on the wealth they have robbed from their workers at home.

4. The acceptance of the International principle that so-called national defense, at this late day of international capitalism, is an anachronism, and that the proposed united party go on record as being utterly opposed to this theory of national defense——”

### War with Mexico.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party issued a proclamation on March 23, 1916, containing the following:

"American citizens have been murdered by Mexican mercenaries. This outrage upon American citizens was doubtless inspired by the same capitalist interests who have so freely hired gunmen to kill to break strikes in the past.

Workers, you have the power to prevent all wars. You have no enemy but the same enemy which the Mexican workers seek to overthrow. Use that power to prevent not only war with Mexico, but to prevent that preparation for war which leads to war.—— Use every power at your command to prevent war with any nation. Serve notice on the masters that you recognize in them your only enemy. Protest against war and preparedness." (N. Y. Call, Mch. 24, 1916.)

### 6. SOCIALIST PARTY REFERENDA.

The following are important decisions of the membership of the Socialist Party during 1915 and the early part of 1916:

Referendum A: Amendments to the national party constitution.

The chief amendment is Article II, Sec. 7, which is given in full:

#### "Article II, Sec. 7.

"Any member of the Socialist Party elected to an office, who shall in any way vote to appropriate money for military or naval purposes or war, shall be expelled from the party."

Aside from this, the referendum provides for the suspension of the national convention (Art. IV, Sec. 3); some changes in the method of selecting the National Executive Committee (Art. VI, Sec. 1); and the Executive Secretary (Art. VII, Sec. 1); the abolition of the Woman's National Committee (Art. XIII and Art. VII, Sec. 1); the expulsion of any party member advocating candidates other than Socialist party candidates (Art. X, Sec. 3); for a referendum to settle controversies within state organizations (Art. X, Sec. 11); for a referendum to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency (Art. XII, Sec. 2); and some changes relating to foreign language groups and translator secretaries (Art. XIV, Secs. 3, 4, 5). All of these sections were carried by large majorities.

Referendum B is an Anti-War Manifesto and Peace Program. It reviews the conditions existing in Europe, and explains the causes of the war as Socialists see them, and proclaims that the supreme duty of the socialists of the world, therefore, is to summon all labor forces of the world for an aggressive and uncompromising opposition to the whole capitalist system, and to every form of its most deadly fruits



—militarism and war; to strengthen the bands of working-class solidarity; to deepen the currents of conscious internationalism; and to proclaim to the world a constructive program leading towards permanent peace. The referendum was carried by large majority.

Referendum C referred to the suspension of the National Convention in 1916, authorized the National Executive Committee to draft a platform and provided for the election of a campaign committee by referendum: All three sections were carried.

Referendum D provided for the abolition of the Information Department. This failed, 6,786 against 7,588.

### Referenda 1916.

Referendum A provided for the election of a joint committee of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party to consider terms for unity, and to report agreement, if one were reached, to the respective national organizations by June, 1916. This was carried by a vote of 20,650 to 4,495.

The second referendum of 1916, was that referring to the election of a National Executive Committee, and an Executive Secretary. Berger and Hillquit were chosen on the first ballot, Anna Maley, John M. Work and John Spargo on the second. Adolph Germer (14,486) was elected National Secretary over Carl D. Thompson (11,900).

On the third referendum, Allan L. Benson and George R. Kirkpatrick were nominated as candidates of the Socialist Party for President and Vice President of the United States respectively.

The vote was—

For candidate for President

Benson .....	16,639
Maurer .....	12,265
Le Sueur .....	3,495

For Candidate for Vice President

Kirkpatrick .....	20,597
Kate Richards O'Hare .....	11,118

## 7. FOREIGN LANGUAGE FEDERATIONS AND TRANSLATOR-SECRETARIES.

Affiliated with the Socialist Party.

Bohemian Translator, Joseph Novak, National Office.  
 Finnish Translator, J. F. Maki, National Office.  
 French Translator, Joseph Ricard, Elk Pt., So. Dak.  
 German Translator, A. Dreifuss, National Office.  
 Hungarian Translator, Armin Loewy, National Office.  
 Italian Translator, John La Duca, National Office.

Jewish Translator, I. B. Bailin, National Office.

Lettish Translator, Gerard Bernhard, 107 Cedar St., Roxbury, Mass.

Lithuanian Translator, Jos. V. Stilson, 229 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Polish Translator, Roman Mazurkavitz, National Office.

Russian Translator, Alex. E. Menson, 77 St. Mark's Place, N. Y. City.

Scandinavian Translator, N. Juel Christensen, National Office.

Slovak Translator, Paul Bruchtel, National Office.

South Slavic Translator, Frank Petrich, National Office.

Ukranian Translator, Jacob Fedushko, 339 Lyman Place, Detroit, Mich.

Reports are here given from some of the larger foreign language federations affiliated with the Socialist Party.

### THE FINNISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

By J. F. Maki, Translator-Secretary.

The beginning of the Socialist propaganda among the Finns in America dates back to 1899. During and after that year there sprang up quite a number of isolated Finnish branches, mostly in the eastern and middle states. Most of these branches were independent organizations, only very few being affiliated with the socialist party. The need of co-operation among the branches was keenly felt and therefore a convention was called to meet at Cleveland, Ohio, October 4, 1904, to discuss ways and means by which the branches in the different parts of a large country could be made to work unitedly, and the propaganda and organization work made effective. This convention did not, however, result in a permanent organization, but it did some very necessary preliminary work.

There were present in that convention fourteen delegates, some of them representing several branches. At that time there were about forty branches existing.

In 1906 another convention was held at Hibbing, Minn., where thirty branches were represented. In that convention plans were laid for a permanent federation and a secretary was elected to communicate with the branches in the different parts of the country and to effect the affiliation of the federation with the party.

In 1907 the office of the Translator-Secretary was established in the party headquarters. The growth of the Federation since that time can be seen from the following table:

Year	Branches end of year	Average membership for the year
1906.....	53.....	2000
1907.....	133.....	2928
1908.....	150.....	3960

1909.....	160.....	5384
1910.....	173.....	7767
1911.....	217.....	9139
1912.....	248.....	11535
1913.....	260.....	12651
1914.....	227.....	11657
1915.....	212.....	8859
1916.....	January .....	10273
1916.....	February .....	10616

The industrial depression resulted in a substantial loss of members during the years 1914 and 1915. However, the disruption in the Federation in 1914 was the biggest cause for such a sudden decrease in the membership. As a result of the same, forty branches were expelled and thirty withdrew from the Federation. These branches had a combined membership of about three thousand. Most of these branches were in Minnesota, only very few being in Michigan and the Western states. The disruption resulted from a controversy over the question of economic organizations, the seceding faction advocating the doctrines of syndicalism and minimizing the value of political action. This faction also established a paper contrary to the decisions of the federation.

A great number of the branches own their halls, which almost without exception are equipped with stages. They also have dramatic, singing, and gymnastic societies, and orchestras. In the larger branches plays are presented, concerts, propaganda meetings and socials are held weekly. Thus the Socialist hall is made a social center where the Finns habitually go for their entertainment.

The Finnish Socialist Federation is divided into three districts, namely, Eastern, Central and Western Districts, these again being subdivided into propaganda districts with a view of making the propaganda work as efficient as possible.

The propaganda work of the Federation is carried on mainly by the District Committees, they keeping in the field two organizers continually and during campaigns as many as required.

The District Committees are also giving, in central points, courses of several weeks duration, where lectures on the various phases of socialism, on sociology, economics and other sciences are given. These courses are always well attended and have proved a most efficient means of bringing permanent results.

The socialist movement among the Finns in America is not purely a spontaneous phenomenon, but its progress has been greatly influenced and accelerated by the powerful movement in Finland. The Russian oppression of Finland rather proved a blessing to the Finns in this country. Because of political persecution many of the most active socialists were forced to leave for America where they continued

socialist propaganda with increased courage and enthusiasm.

It can be stated without reserve that the socialist movement has been and is at present by far the greatest progressive force among the Finns in America. The Finnish Socialist Federation while keeping the study of Socialism in the foreground has always endeavored to get its members interested in the study of the American History, form of government, institutions and various social phenomena. As a result of this the Finnish workers in this country are no more the docile slaves they used to be, but they are class conscious socialists, able and willing to do their share in the coming social revolution.

### THE FRENCH LANGUAGE FEDERATION.

This organization is composed of three distinct nationalities, viz: French, Belgian, and Canadian, but French is used exclusively.

The F. S. F. was organized in January 1912. Several years previous different attempts were made towards that object, but owing to peculiar conditions of labor and scattered groups and members no material success had been obtained.

The present Organization was launched by Jos. Ricard and increased as follows:

January, 1912, 5 locals comprising 67 members.

January, 1913, 7 locals comprising 187 members.

July, 1914, 13 locals comprising 291 members.

Last report available (December) 1915, 25 locals comprising 497 members.

In the winter of 1914-15 strikes, unemployment and principally the European war (Party dissensions) caused a general decrease in the membership and was disastrous to the organization. Nevertheless, undaunted, the Federation reorganized under a different program and as an independent organization is now making splendid progress.

The Organization is composed of a National Secretary Treasurer, a National Organizer, State Secretaries and Organizers, and sectional and local officers.

The adoption of this new plan of organization has met with material success.

A dearth of literature in the French language has somewhat retarded its growth but arrangements are now being made to remedy this condition.

An average of 110,000 pieces of literature have been handled since 1913.

The Official Organ of the Federation is *l'Union des Travailleurs*, published at Charleroi, Penna., under the able management of L. Goaziou.

## THE WORK OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE FEDERATION S. P.

By Adolph Dreifuss, Translator-Secretary.

The German Language Federation of the Socialist Party was formed at the first National Convention of the German-speaking Socialists of the United States, which took place in New Castle, Pa., December 27 and 28, 1912. Almost too long the German comrades had hesitated to bring their Language Federation into existence, due to the fact that the German Socialists felt themselves so much a part of the party that they neglected to some extent propaganda among their country people, in order to help to build up the American Socialist movement. But, the American movement having grown powerful, the German comrades all over the United States demanded a Federation.

The Federation began its work March 1, 1913, when I took up my duties as German translator-secretary in the National Office.

For comparison I give here the sales of due stamps for our three years of existence, divided into periods of six months each:

	Stamps	Members
First six months	21,724	3,620
Second six months	28,433	4,738
Third six months	30,604	5,100
Fourth six months	25,533	4,257
Fifth six months	24,712	4,117
Sixth six months	27,466	4,577

The excitement created by the European war turned out to be a big obstacle to the growth of our Federation. Heated debates about the actions of the European Socialists divided the workers into factions and propaganda naturally suffered thereby. Unemployment was another drawback. Judging from the development of the Federation during the time previous to the war it can safely be stated that we would at present muster a membership of more than 6,000 were it not for fratricide in Europe.

About 700,000 leaflets ("A Call to the Workers," "To the Wife of the Toiler," "Wages and the Cost of Living," "Shall Women Vote," "The Preparedness-Swindle") and a strong anti-war leaflet were distributed.

We also started a "Socialist Workingmen's Library" that will contain reprints of older valuable pamphlets of a general propaganda character, as well as literature that deals primarily with American problems. So far we have issued seven 5c, 10c and 25c pamphlets on various subjects. We are also publishing a book "The International in America" by Hermann Schlueter, editor of the *New York Volkszeitung*.



Many organizations collect money in the United States to help their needy countrymen in the war zones in Europe. But we felt that it was our duty to help especially to relieve and support the Socialists and their families without regard to nationality. So the executive of the German Federation has, with the co-operation of the other Language Federations, constituted itself a relief committee. All money collected is turned over, under supervision of an advisory and auditing committee of well known American Socialists, to Hermann Greulich, Switzerland, and Peter J. Troelstra in Amsterdam, Holland.

So far about \$11,000 have been collected and sent or put at the disposal of the European trustees.

For greater propaganda tours covering all the promising districts from New York to San Francisco and from Kentucky to North Dakota as well as for work in selected districts, able organizers and speakers were engaged, amongst whom were comrades Philipp Scheidemann and Alexandra Kollontay from Germany. Comrade Kollontay gave us her services for nearly four months and was successful in strengthening the organization and spreading the international spirit.

At present negotiations with other European speakers are being carried on and we hope that we shall be successful in securing their services in spite of the war.

We had the services of comrades Oscar Ameringer, Heinrich Bertel, Max Bedacht, Carl Minkley, Ernest Untermann, Emil Seidel and others.

In conformity with the request of the Women's National Committee the German Federation conducted a German speaking campaign in the New England States for woman suffrage with Comrade Marie McDonald of New York as the principal speaker.

During June and July 1915 Comrade Josef Beregszaszy of Philadelphia, Pa., toured the central states especially for the purpose of doing propaganda work amongst his country people, the German-Hungarians, a most necessary work, since the German-Hungarian workers are very numerous. His meetings were surprisingly well attended and he succeeded in interesting a population in our cause that hitherto practically had been neglected.

## ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

By A. Loewy, Translator-Secretary.

The close of the past century saw the beginning of emigration from Hungary and its crown-lands in numbers vaster than ever heretofore.

Social and political inequality is the basic cause of this exodus (now at a stand-still because of the World-War). Exorbitant taxes, the brutality of the authorities, inhuman treatment at the hands of the gendarmes, the system of land ownership, and militarism were the forces responsible.

The first Hungarian Socialist Club was organized in the City of New York, in the year 1894. It was hard sailing, but the comrades weathered the storm bravely.

This was followed by an organization in Cleveland with the first Hungarian socialist publication known as *Hajnal* (Dawn). The paper first saw daylight on the first of May, 1894, under the able editorship of Comrade Adam Abet. Unfortunately, the paper was but short lived, due to lack of funds.

Later, through the combined efforts of all the comrades, another weekly publication was started (under the old S. L. P. platform) and named *Amerika Magyar Népszava* (Voice of the Hungarian People in America)—which, after a brief, uneventful career, went into the hands of an Hungarian printer, who changed its policy.

In the year 1900 a split occurred in the Hungarian ranks, as a result of which "The Workingmen's Sick Benefit and Educational Federation" came into existence numbering upwards of 60 active branches throughout the country.

On the first day of May in 1903, with the launching of the periodical *Nepakarat* (The Will of the People), the real socialist work was begun. The paper, however, went with the S. L. P. faction at the time of a second rupture in October, 1904.

Following close upon this, the remaining S. P. members started a monthly paper, the now daily *Elore* (Forward). From a monthly it soon, in 1906, became a semi-monthly and, in 1907 a weekly publication.

Branches of the Federation were organized throughout the country, thus laying a solid foundation for the existing Federation.

In 1911 a union was effected with some of the "deserters" who had, in the meantime, withdrawn from the S. L. P. It was soon discovered, however, that the new-comers had no use for political action and departed again, only to organize I. W. W. branches.

In 1912, the majority of the then so called United Hungarian Federation decided to join the American Socialist Party, and has been an integral part of the Party since.

The next noteworthy event in the history of the Federation occurred in November, 1912, when, the party organ, the *Elore*, became a daily.

The Federation has not been growing by leaps and bounds, but withal showing a steady increase. With over 40 branches in good standing, we show a membership of well above 1,500.

The N. E. C. of the Federation has published over 18 booklets and books, and imported, before the outbreak of hostilities, thousands of pieces of Propaganda matter from the sister party in Hungary. Thousands of leaflets, pamphlets and books have been sold and distributed. The *Elore* is now known throughout the Western hemisphere and has a circulation of somewhat over 10,000, doing work of a revolutionary nature. The paper is owned by the federation. There are nearly 40 people employed at the printing plant, most of whom are members of the party as well as the Union. The printing press is also party-owned.

We have had to contend with serious obstacles caused by the war-fever so eagerly fanned into flame by the so-called Hungarian patriotic press, pulpit, and societies.

We keep in close contact with the Party in Hungary, but due to the ruthless censorship of the Hungarian government, we are unable to give an adequate statement of their standing.

## THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

By John La Duca, Translator-Secretary.

The gathering together of all the Italian socialist forces in America, so to speak, under the roof of one big dwelling called the Italian Socialist Federation, is not the result of a mere accident, but of persistent agitation by a handful of active radicals who saw the pathetic inactivity of the Italian socialists in America due to the lack of knowledge of the language of this country.

The radical movement of former times embodied in the Socialist Labor Party could do very little for them because the Italians were ignorant of the English language, and could not be reached through their propaganda; and although a few independent Italian branches existed here and there at the time, they could accomplish very little because of the lack of solidarity and understanding among them.

Comrade G. M. Serrati, an intelligent and well educated organizer, now editor of *L'Avanti*, the official daily paper of the Socialist Party in Italy, saw the situation at a glance and knew just where to begin to remedy these evils. And thus in 1902 the Italian Socialist Federation, affiliated with the Socialist Labor Party, was born through the efforts of Comrade Serrati.

Even before this, at Pittsburgh, Pa., through the efforts

of a radical group headed by that tireless comrade, Mazzoli, in 1896, *Il Proletario*, a socialist weekly, saw the light under the editorship of Mazzoli.

In 1903 *Il Proletario* became a daily paper and the official organ of the federation, which in the same period withdrew from the Socialist Labor Party and became an independent organization.

In 1906, the official organ, at that time reduced to a weekly again, and published in Philadelphia, began to sympathize with the syndicalist element of the federation.

The socialist element, although in the minority, would not abide by this move of the official organ of the federation and withdrew from the organization at a convention in Boston in 1906.

One year later Comrade Giuseppe Bertelli founded in Chicago *La Parola dei Socialisti* and Comrade Dr. Alberico Molinari founded in Pennsylvania *L'Ascesa del Proletariato*, one of the best weekly propaganda papers ever published in America. These two papers laid the corner stone of the present Federation. Their propaganda for a concerted effort to reorganize the Italian socialist forces in America in one big body had its results. For it is due to this that in 1910 the Italian Federation affiliated with the Socialist Party was officially organized. *La Parola dei Socialisti* was reorganized as its official organ, *L'Ascesa del Proletariato* having suspended for lack of funds.

The Italian Socialist Federation has today a membership of 1,500 members, with about 1,000 in good standing. Its headquarters are 803 W. Madison Street, Chicago, and its executive secretary is John La Duca, who is under the jurisdiction of an executive committee of seven members elected by the rank and file of the federation.

The purpose of the federation is mainly to keep together on the same firing line in the fight for industrial and political freedom all Italian socialists who otherwise would be disbanded and lost to the great army of fighters for a better and saner world.

## JAPANESE SOCIALISTS IN AMERICA.

From the account of S. Katayama.

The Socialist and Labor movement among the Japanese in America has been chiefly a reflex of conditions in Japan itself. When Mr. Katayama toured the Pacific coast in 1904 he found only one labor organization, a temporary one in Southern California.

In 1905 Comrade Kotoku, afterwards executed in Japan, came to this country to engage in Socialist propaganda and

to work against the Russo-Japanese war. He founded a Japanese Socialist association in San Francisco, by which a labor union was organized in 1908 at Fresno, California. This union prospered for a time, having several thousand members paying dues of one dollar a year, and publishing a weekly paper, *The Labor*. They planned to protect their own interests as workers, to extend their organization through California, to publish an English daily in order to show the injustice of the anti-Japanese movement, and to work to stop Chinese gambling. The union and the paper, however, lasted but a short time.

In 1904 and 1910 serious persecution of Socialists began in Japan and Kotoku was executed. Japanese Socialists in America became indignant and started a paper of extreme views, *The Revolution*, published in Berkeley, California. Thereupon the Japanese government adopted an attitude of greater terrorization at home, and the Consul at San Francisco attempted to send the prominent Socialists to Japan for punishment. This was impossible because all of these proved to have been residents of America more than three years and so could not be deported.

From that time, however, the Japanese consul in San Francisco, or more exactly, the vice-consul or the first secretary of the consul has kept a list of Socialists, and refuses to allow to any of these certificates to return to America from Japan or to send for his wife from Japan. It is said that the list of Socialists was first obtained from those who attended a certain meeting in Berkeley opposing the poll-tax levied by the Japanese consul, and that many of the names were wrongly included. As a result of this petty persecution by the Japanese government, Socialism is very unpopular among Japanese in America, and any work that is done is subject to great difficulty.

A little monthly paper, *Heimin*, published in English and Japanese by S. Katayama in San Francisco is circulated among the Japanese workers.

### SOCIALIST ACTIVITIES AMONG THE JEWS.

By I. B. Bailin, Translator-Secretary of the Jewish Socialist Federation.

The beginning of a Socialist sentiment among the Jews of this country may be traced back to the eighties of the last century, although that sentiment was conspicuous for anarchistic tendencies. The first International Socialist Congress of 1889 in Paris, had among its delegates a representative of the Jewish American Socialists. There was an organized



movement already in 1890, which struggled for a mouth-piece and finally succeeded in establishing the *Arbeiter Zeitung*.

As far as Socialist sentiment among the Jews of this country today is concerned nothing can be brighter and more promising. *The Jewish Daily Forward*, a Socialist daily, has a circulation of over 200,000 and is the biggest Jewish publication in the world. However the proportion of Jews organized in the Socialist party is comparatively very small. This is due to numerous causes and to recite them here, quite interesting as they may be, is impossible in this limited space.

A center of the existing Socialist groups was finally perfected with the organization of the *Jewish Agitation Bureau*. But as the Bureau was neither an organ of the Party nor able to secure proper resources and adequate authority it succeeded little during the seven years of its existence. The end of July, 1912, saw the *Jewish Socialist Federation* called into being. This Federation is part and parcel of the Party. It at once demonstrated its vigor and vitality by increasing its membership and branches and by infusing into them new life, interest and activity. The best speakers from abroad were secured and a number of leaflets and booklets published. The first year of its existence closed with a net gain of about 900 members and a score of branches. The second year brought even better results in spite of the increasing unemployment and severe crisis, which injured so much the Party as a whole.

Today this organization is the third in strength and in numbers among all the other federations. It has about 5,000 members. It owns its official weekly organ *The New World* in which the best talent of our movement is participating and which is considered to be one of the best socialist periodicals in this country. It published already for the third time an Almanac, unique in its kind in the Jewish language. It is engaged now in publishing a quarterly magazine *The Time* for research and discussion of the paramount issues and most important topics of the movement.

To estimate the strength of the Federation by its mere numbers would be wrong. Its influence, which cannot be counted nor weighed, is growing steadily among fraternal organizations and labor unions. With some of them it maintains close relations even as far as doing educational work among their locals. It offered its best organizer to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and it managed the educational work of the great Cloak Makers' Union of New York. It participates and leads the work of the "Workers National Committee," a central organization composed of affiliated Jewish labor-bodies for the purpose of securing

political and civil rights for the Jews in those countries where they are deprived of these and shapes its policies according to the principles of International Socialism.

The Jewish Socialist Federation is also proud of the fact that Meyer London, the first Socialist Congressman from New York, was elected in a district where the Jewish Socialist Federation is active and is determined to keep him there in the future.

## THE LITHUANIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

By C. A. HERMAN.

The Lithuanian Socialist Federation was organized in 1904, and held its first convention in Newark, N. J., in May, 1905. The L. S. Federation grew very rapidly, especially after the suppression of the Russian Revolution in 1905 and the following year, when numbers of comrades came to this country.

The Federation in the first years of its existence had some internal struggles with the elements which were brought into it at the time of its formation, but were foreign to the real working class movement. This foreign element, nationalists and anarchists, was sifted out in these struggles.

At the present time the Federation besides its common struggle along with the other socialists of this country against the capitalist system, has to fight other elements present among the Lithuanians themselves. The first of these is the activity of the Lithuanian Roman-Catholic clergy in trying to organize the workers into a federation of its own for the purpose of making them subservient to the exploiting classes; the other is the Lithuanian nationalists who try to becloud the struggle between the exploiters and exploited by organizing the workers on nationalistic lines for the purpose of obtaining political autonomy or complete political independence for Lithuania.

In 1914 the Federation decided by a very small majority to join the Socialist Party, which was done last year. At that time the Federation had over 3,500 members, but at present it has dropped to little over 2,000. The decrease in membership is mostly due to the unemployment which was very evident in the first part of last year, and also partly on account of the increase in dues which was brought about by joining the Socialist Party.

The Federation publishes as its official organ a weekly paper *Kova* (The Struggle), and a monthly magazine *Naujoji Gadyne* (The New Age), devoted to theoretical discussion of scientific socialism. Both are published in Philadelphia, where the Federation's headquarters are.

Besides these, there are one daily in Chicago; one semi-weekly in Brooklyn; two weeklies—one in Boston, and the other in Pittsburgh, and one monthly in Worcester, Mass., issued by local socialist co-operative publishing organizations for educational and propaganda work.

### THE POLISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

From "The Polish Socialists," published by the Executive Committee of the Polish Alliance S. P.

The Polish Alliance of the Socialist Party was established in February, 1913, through the union of two organizations, the Alliance of Polish Socialists in America and the Polish Section of the Socialist Party. The first organization had existed for nearly twenty years "and its main aim was to prepare the revolution in Poland through teaching and organizing those that had the intention to return to Europe." The other organization, the Polish Section of the Socialist Party, had to do exclusively with Polish affairs on American ground.

The Polish Socialist Federation has acknowledged the Socialist Party as the political party of the proletariat, and has declared war on Anarchism. It stands definitely for political action, and seeks to bring about the naturalization of as many Poles as possible, "teaching them that the vote is the modern weapon of the proletariat, considerably more powerful than the so-called 'immediate action' and other similar methods." Poles are encouraged to send their children to the public schools and to patronize public libraries. Through the assistance of the Federation, People's Universities have been established in New York, Chicago, and other cities; and the Federation has published a large number of books on Socialism by Polish and other authors. It maintains a daily paper, *The People's Daily*, in Chicago, and two weeklies, one in Chicago and the other in Pittsburgh. The policy of the Federation is to urge Polish workingmen to join labor unions and at the same time to try "to modernize American unionism." A large number of lecture tours has been organized, and in 1913 a correspondence school of social and political science was established for the training of agitators.

### THE SCANDINAVIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

The Scandinavian Socialist Federation was organized at a convention held in Chicago, July 2, 3, 4, 1910.

On January 1st, 1911, the Federation was composed of 7 branches with 216 members. Since then it has grown steadily and in 1916 it was composed of 51 branches with 1,741

members, of which 1,161 were in good standing. Out of this membership 265 are women.

In order to further the propaganda throughout the country, the Federation is divided into propaganda districts, which comprise all the branches within one state, and such neighboring states as are not strong enough to have a district of their own. There are at present six active districts with their respective headquarters in the following cities: Duluth, Minn., Kenosha, Wis., Rockford, Ill., Pittsburgh, Pa., New York City, and West Concord, N. H.

The Federation has its own printing plant which was established in 1915.

A considerable amount of Scandinavian socialist literature has been printed, or imported and distributed, by the Federation.

Speakers and organizers have been sent out regularly every year, and during the national campaign of 1916 we intend to have two speakers in the field continuously.

Outside of the Socialist Labor Party and a few radical temperance organizations, there are no other radical or semi-socialistic Scandinavian organizations on a national scope in the United States.

Besides the regular party and propaganda activities, the Federation maintains a Sick-benefit auxiliary. This was established in 1913. It is open to all those of the members who want to join, but it is only for members of the Federation.

## THE SLOVAK SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

Report of Paul Bruchtel, Translator-Secretary.

The Federation started early in 1904 in Chicago, but it was not then affiliated with the Socialist Party. In the same year the Slovak paper was established, *Rovnost Ludu*; it was owned by the entire membership and is still the organ of the federation.

In June, 1913, the Federation was affiliated with the Socialist Party, with 590 members and 22 actual branches. During the same year we organized 16 new branches and in June, 1914, we had a membership of 723, with 42 branches.

In 1915 there were 751 members and 38 branches. Because of the prevailing unemployment this was a hard year and several branches disbanded; but the membership has again been brought up to 800 with 38 branches in the following states; Illinois, Indiana, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Missouri.

Each year three thousand copies of an Almanac are issued containing excellent articles and translations.

The work during the first few years was very difficult, and the Slovak paper was established only after many sacrifices. When the paper appeared, however, new light was thrown into the home of the workingman. Among the active comrades of that time were Stefan Martincek, speaker and organizer, and Frank Klabik, editor of *Rovnost Ludu* for four years.

The federation now owns two papers, *Rovnost Ludu*, in Chicago, a weekly, and a monthly in New York.

There are about 600,000 Slovak workers in this country, most of these belonging to Sick and Death Benefit Societies. These societies are usually conservative, but the Socialists are trying their best to permeate them and they now contain many members of the federation. In Newark a Socialist Benefit Society has been formed.

The Slovak Federation now employs three comrades at salaries from \$16 to \$20 per week, but the editor and business manager of the New York paper work without pay.

Many Slovak workers belong to the A. F. of L. There are no radical organizations or papers among them except those of the Socialists.

In the old country the Slovak Socialist movement is very weak because of the war. Their paper, published before the war in Presburg, Hungary, is still published but on a reduced scale.

## THE SOUTH SLAVIC SOCIALIST ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Report of Frank Petrich, Translator-Secretary.

As all other advanced nationalities, so have the South Slavics—Slovenians, Croatians, Serbians and Bulgarians—become conscious of the class struggle.

Knowing the value of the law of combination which means power, the South Slavic workers, differing little in language, organized themselves into a Federation. This was in July, 1910, when a unity convention was held in Chicago, and an agreement was reached to this effect:

It was decided that the Federation should be affiliated with the Socialist Party. This decision was carried out in January, 1911. The Federation at that time had 36 active locals with a membership of 635.

In the 36 locals of the Federation the different nationalities were represented as follows:

Croatians, 340; Slovenians, 250; Serbians, 45. Among them were a few Bulgarians.

From January 1, 1911, to December 31 of the same year, there were 30 new locals organized with over 800 members.



At the close of 1911, there were 58 active locals, some having disbanded, leaving a membership of 1266.

The nationalities then stood as follows: Slovenians, 607; Croatsians, 558, and Serbians, 101.

Of these, 340 were union members, and 201 American citizens.

In accordance with this favorable beginning, the organization has grown proportionally up to the present time, February 29, 1916, with union members and American citizens among the new members of the organization.

The highest point in membership was reached in 1914. In January of that year, the Federation had 2608 members. After that time, because of bad industrial conditions, there was a decline in membership, bringing it down to 2,000, and this has been the average membership since.

The locals are distributed as follows:

Arkansas, 3; Arizona, 1; California, 1; Colorado, 1; Illinois, 16; Indiana, 3; Iowa, 2; Kansas, 10; Michigan, 2; Minnesota, 2; Missouri, 1; Montana, 4; Ohio, 16; Pennsylvania, 30; Washington, 1; West Virginia, 1; Wisconsin, 4; Wyoming, 4; total, 103 locals.

In the old country, the South Slavic Socialists, being divided by their monarchical boundaries, strive toward a Federated South Slavic Socialist Republic. In this aim, the American South Slavic Socialists are trying to assist whenever possible.

The Federation works along the line that its members become American citizens and fight the political and economic battles of the proletariat of America whenever necessary.

There were at the end of February, according to the reports of locals, out of 2,000 members in good standing, 979 union members and 576 American citizens.

Eighty-five per cent of the South Slavic people in the United States are industrial laborers, working a good third of them in the coal mines and the rest of them in the steel mills; 14% of them have their trade, and one per cent are farmers.

## 8. THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

### 1. The Socialist Party Press.

The organ of the Socialist Party is *The American Socialist* published in Chicago at the national headquarters. The editor is J. L. Engdahl.

The following statement regarding the party press is given by Mr. Engdahl.

"There are Socialist daily publications in the United States in six different languages; about 50 weeklies in a dozen languages, and a few monthlies. Probably the most powerful and influential Socialist daily is the *Jewish Daily Forward* of New York City, which is now planning to establish a daily in Chicago, where it has hitherto had a large circulation. Next in power we may list the three Finnish dailies at Fitchburg, Mass.; Superior, Wis., and Astoria, Ore. Then there are the two German dailies, the *Volkszeitung*, of New York City, and the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, of Chicago. There are Polish and Bohemian dailies in Chicago and an Hungarian daily in New York City. The two English dailies are *The Milwaukee Leader*, edited by Victor L. Berger, the first Socialist congressman, and *The New York Call*. It is a peculiar fact that the Polish and Bohemian dailies have increased in circulation owing to the war, since those who had been hitherto reading only weeklies, now wanted a daily paper to keep in touch with what was going on in Europe. These daily publications are gradually increasing in strength financially, most of them now being an asset to the party rather than deficit producers. They are all more or less party owned.

"It is among the weeklies that we find the great struggle for existence going on continually. There is no nationally organized effort to publish weekly Socialist papers. Those that do exist grow out of a local demand. Thus we find that the biggest Socialist weekly, *The Appeal to Reason*, of Girard, Kan., is privately owned. The only other weekly with a national circulation is *The American Socialist*, of Chicago, the official organ of the national Socialist Party. A local weekly usually proves a success where there is a strong local political movement to support it, as *The Schenectady Citizen*, of Schenectady, New York; or where it is supported by the labor movement, as in the case of *The Cleveland Citizen*, of Cleveland, Ohio, edited by Max Hayes. Prominent among the monthly Socialist publications, all privately owned, are *The Rip-Saw*, St. Louis, *The International Socialist Review*, of Chicago, and *The Masses*, of New York City. The future of the Socialist press depends upon the gradual growth of the Socialist Party as a political movement, and upon the extent of its co-operation with the economic movement of the working class. The Socialist press cannot grow without having something concrete to fight for and this is found in the support demanded by elected Socialist officials. The Socialist press must also have the support of labor unions as well as the Socialist Party in order to achieve the desired success."

The following table is a result of a questionnaire sent to all known periodicals published by or in the interest of the Socialist Party:

Name and Address	Annual sub. price	Approximate circulation	Controlled or pub- lished by
<b>ENGLISH</b>			
<b>Monthly</b>			
Co-operative Commonwealth, 713 N. Main St., Mitchell, S. D.....	\$ .50	350	Private
Fool-Killer, Boomer, N. C.....	.25	40,000	Private
International Socialist Review, 341 E. Ohio St., Chicago, Ill.....	1.00	40,000	Pub. Co.
Masses, The, 33 W. 14th St., New York City .....	1.50	—	Private
National Rip-Saw, 703 Pontiac Bldg., St. Louis, Mo. ....	.50	200,000	Pub. Co.
Nebraska Worker, 1026 W. Street, Lincoln, Neb. ....	.50	10,000	Pub. Co.
Party Builder, 314 Commune Bldg., Everett, Wash. ....	.25	4,000	Party
Rip Saw, 2107 Wash. St., Boston, Mass. ....	Free	40,000	Party
Socialist News, Kelso, Wash. ....	.20	—	Private
Western Comrade, 924 Higgins Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal. ....	.50	—	Private
Young Socialist Magazine, 15 Spruce St., New York City .....	.50	2,000	Pub. Assn.
<b>Weekly</b>			
American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. ....	.50	60,000	Party
Arizona Bulletin, 38 S. 4th St., Phoenix, Ariz. ....	—	—	Party
Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan....	.50	500,000	Private
California Social-Democrat, 1307 W. 45th St., Los Angeles, Cal. ....	1.00	2,500	Party
Citizen, The, 853 Albany St., Schenectady, N. Y.....	1.00	4,000	Pub. Co.
City Leader, 1938 E. Street, Granite City, Ill. ....	—	—	Party
Commonwealth, The, Mitchell, S. D.	—	—	Party
Cleveland Citizen, 1125 Oregon Ave., Cleveland, Ohio .....	1.00	14,000	Pub. Co.
Clinton County Socialist, 618 Main St., Lyons, Iowa .....	.75	300	Party
Critic, The, 620 Main St., Grand Junction, Col. ....	—	—	Party
Chronicle, The, Pittsburgh, Kan....	—	—	Private
Christian Socialist, Chicago, Ill....	1.00	—	Private
Dawn, Myton, Utah .....	1.50	2,000	Private
Dexter Dispatch, Dexter, Kan. ....	—	—	Private
Examiner, 651 Newfield St., Bridgeport, Conn. ....	—	—	Party
Hamilton Socialist, Hamilton, Ohio	—	—	Party
Iconoclast, The, 110 W 3rd St., Schenectady, N. Y. ....	—	—	Party

Name and Address	Annual sub. price	Approximate circulation	Controlled or pub- lished by
Labor Advocate, Box 570, Providence, R. I. ....	—	—	Party
Miami Valley Socialist, 25 N. Main St., Dayton, Ohio .....	1.00	3,500	Party
Montana Socialist, 1957 Harrison Ave., Butte, Mont. ....	1.00	2,000	Pub. Co.
Muscatine County Socialist, Box 62, Muscatine, Iowa .....	.25	1,000	Party
New Age, 99 East Genessee St., Buffalo, N. Y. ....	1.00	5,000	Party
New England Socialist, 14 Park Square, Boston, Mass. ....	1.00	5,000	Party
Northwest Worker, Everett, Wash..	1.00	2,000	Party
New Times, 5202 34th Ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn. ....	1.00	5,000	Private
Oregon Bulletin, 231½ Oak St., Portland, Oregon .....	—	—	Party
People's Friend, Roger's, Ark. ....	—	—	Party
Public Ownership, 509 Equitable Bldg., Baltimore, Md. ....	.50	2,000	Party
Reading Labor Advocate, 440 Wash. St., Reading, Pa. ....	.50	3,000	Private
Rebel, The, Hallettsville, Tex. ....	.50	20,000	Private
Reservation News, The, Myton, Utah	1.50	2,000	Private
St. Louis Labor, 966 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo. ....	—	—	Party
Seminole County Capital, Wewoka, Okla. ....	1.00	—	Private
Socialist News, 737 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. ....	.25	2,500	Party
Socialist World, Seattle, Wash. ....	.75	1,500	Party
Spokane Socialist, Spokane, Wash...	.10	—	Party
Truth, The, 440 E. 4th St., Erie, Pa.	1.00	2,500	Party
Tenant Farmer, The, King Fisher, Okla. ....	—	—	Party
Union Star, Brookneal, Va. ....	.50	3,500	Pub. Co.
Union Worker, 807 Fallowfield Ave., Charleroi, Pa. ....	1.50	800	Pub. Co.
Voice of Labor, 1430 Broadway, Camden, N. J. ....	.50	5,000	Party
Wheeling Majority, Wheeling, W. Va. ....	1.00	8,000	Pub. Co.
World, The, 581 13th St., Oakland, Cal. ....	—	—	Party
<b>Semi-Weekly</b>			
Semi-Weekly New Era, Hallettsville, Tex. ....	1.50	2,000	Pub. Co.
<b>Daily</b>			
Milwaukee Leader, Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis. ....	3.00	37,000	Pub. Assn.
New York Call, 444 Pearl St., New York City .....	3.00	15,000	Pub. Assn.
<b>Quarterly</b>			
Intercollegiate Socialist, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City .....	.25	4,000	Pub. Assn.

Name and Address	Annual sub. price	Approximate circulation	Controlled or pub- lished by
FOREIGN LANGUAGE			
BOHEMIAN			
Daily			
Spravedlnost (Truth), 1825 S. Loom- is St., Chicago, Ill. ....	—	—	Party
FINNISH			
Monthly			While the Finnish papers are not owned directly by the Federation, the control of the papers is in the hands of the branches, they owning a majority of the stock in the pub- lishing company.
Sakenia, 48 Wallace Ave., Fitchburg, Mass. ....	1.25	10,000	
Semi-Monthly			
Lapatossu, 603 Tower Ave., Superior, Wis. ....	1.25	10,000	
Pelto ja Koti (Farmer's Journal), 603 Tower Ave., Superior, Wis. ....	1.00	5,000	
Weekly			
Toveritar (Woman Comrade), Box 99, Astoria, Oregon ....	1.00	7,000	
Daily			
Toveri (Comrade), Box 99, Astoria, Oregon ....	3.50	4,000	
Tyomies (Workingman), 601 Tower Ave., Superior, Wis. ....	3.75	15,000	
Daily Except Sunday			
Raivaaja (Pioneer), 48 Wallace Ave., Fitchburg, Mass. ....	3.75	10,000	
Sosialisti, Box 44, Duluth, Minn. ...	3.50	—	
FRENCH			
Weekly			
L'Union des Travailleurs (Worker's Union, 807 Fallowfield St., Char- leroi, Pa. ....	1.50	1,500	Pub. Co.
GERMAN			
Weekly			
Vorwaerts (Forward), 141 Albion St., St., San Francisco, Cal. ....	—	—	Party
Der Herold (The Herald), 96 Brush St., Detroit, Mich. ....	—	—	Party
Vorwaerts (Forward), Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis. ....	1.50	4,600	Pub. Assn.
Worker's Weekly, Buffalo, N. Y....	—	—	
Daily			
Arbeiter-Zeitung (Worker's Daily), 1642 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.	—	—	Party
Tageblatt (Daily News), 803 Callow- hill St., Philadelphia, Pa. ....	—	—	Private
Volkszeitung (People's Daily), 15 Spruce St., New York City....	1.00	15,000	Pub. Assn.



Name and Address	Annual sub. price	Approximate circulation	Controlled or pub- lished by
<b>HUNGARIAN</b>			
Daily Elore (Forward), 5 East 3rd St., New York City .....	3.00	10,000	Party
<b>ITALIAN</b>			
Weekly La Parola Proletaria (The Proletar- ian), 803 W. Madison St., Chi- cago, Ill. ....	1.00	5,500	Party
<b>JAPANESE</b>			
Monthly Heimin, 2204 Pine St., San Fran- cisco, Cal. ....	.50	—	Private
<b>JEWISH</b>			
Monthly Die Zukunft (The Future), 175 E. Broadway, New York City ....	1.00	10,000	Pub. Assn.
Weekly Die Naye Welt (The New World), 175 E. Broadway, New York City .....	1.00	10,000	Party
Daily Jewish Daily Forward, 175 East Broadway, New York City.....	4.00	200,000	Pub. Assn.
<b>LITHUANIAN</b>			
Monthly Naujoji Gadyne (The New Age), 229 N. 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa....	—	—	Party
Weekly Keleivis (The Traveler), South Bos- ton, Mass. ....	1.50	15,000	Private
Kova (The Struggle), 229 N. 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. ....	—	—	Party
Semi-Weekly Laisve (Liberty), 183 Roebling St., Brooklyn, N. Y. ....	2.50	10,000	Pub. Co.
Daily Naujienos (Lithuanian Daily News), 1840 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.	5.00	15,000	Pub. Co.
<b>POLISH</b>			
Weekly Bicz Bozy (God's Whip), 959 Mil- waukee Ave., Chicago, Ill.....	1.50	20,000	Pub. Co.
Gorniki Polski (The Polish Miner), 1601 Beaver Ave., Pittsburg, Pa. Naprzod, Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis. ....	—	—	Party
Daily Dziennik Ludowy (People's Daily), 959 Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. ....	3.00	18,000	Pub. Co.

Name and Address	Annual sub. price	Approximate circulation	Controlled or pub- lished by
<b>RUSSIAN</b>			
Monthly Stobodnoe Slovo (The Free Word) ..	1.00	—	Pub. Co.
Weekly Russkaja Sjsn (Russian Life), 817 Free Press Bldg., Detroit, Mich.	1.00	6,000	Private
Daily Novy Mir (The New World), 77 St. Mark's Place, New York City..	3.50	15,000	Pub Co.
<b>SCANDINAVIAN</b>			
Weekly Gaa Paa, 2301 7th St., Minneapolis, Minn. ....	—	—	Private
Social-Demokraten (Social Demo- crat), 2003 N. California Ave., Chicago, Ill. ....	1.00	7,000	Party
Svenska Socialisten (Swedish Social- ist), 2003 N. California Ave., Chicago, Ill. ....	1.00	7,000	Party
<b>SLOVAK</b>			
Monthly Glas Svobody (Voice of Liberty), 502 East 79th St., New York City .....	—	—	Party
Weekly Rovnost Ludu (Equality of the People), 1825 Loomis St., Chi- cago, Ill. ....	1.75	9,000	Party
<b>SOUTH SLAVIC</b>			
Weekly Proletarec (Proletariat), 4008 W. 31st St., Chicago, Ill. ....	2.00	3,500	Party
Radnicke Straza (Workingmen's Guard), 1944 Racine Ave., Chi- cago, Ill. ....	2.00	4,200	Party
<b>UKRAINIAN</b>			
Tri-Weekly Narodna Wola (People's Will), 524 Olive St., Scranton, Pa. ....	2.50	7,500	Pub. Co.
Weekly Rabitnyh (The Worker), 2335 West 11th St., Cleveland, Ohio ....	1.50	1,700	Party

## II. The Socialist Labor Party Press.

(Statement by Arnold Petersen, National Secretary.)

"The Party owns an up-to-date printing and publishing plant located at 45 Rose Street, New York City. It publishes the following papers:

*Weekly People* (English Weekly).

*Arbetaren* (Swedish weekly).

*Volksfreund und Arbeiter-Zeitung* (German weekly).

*Proletareets* (Lettish weekly).

*A Munkas* (Hungarian semi-weekly).

*Radnicka Borba* (South Slavonian semi-monthly).

"In addition to these a Jewish magazine, *Neue Zeit*, is published irregularly, usually about five or six issues being printed a year."

## 9. SOCIALISM AND EDUCATION.

### The Rand School of Social Science.

The educational work of the Socialist Party has been conducted for the most part in a haphazard way. Definite and systematic courses of study have rarely been persisted in, until the Rand School of Social Science of New York City, answered the demand for training and formulated an educational program. The school, while not strictly a party institution, is owned and controlled by the American Socialist Society, an incorporated body, which has always followed the policy of taking in only Party members. The detailed administration is in the hands of an Educational Director and Executive Secretary, chosen by and responsible to a Board of Directors, elected annually by the Society.

The establishment of the Rand School in 1906 was made possible by an endowment provided, at the suggestion of Prof. George D. Herron, by the late Mrs. Carrie D. Rand, with a contributory fund added by her daughter, Mrs. Carrie Rand Herron, who showed a keen interest in its work till her untimely death early in 1914. The income from this fund is supplemented by tuition fees and by donations from individuals and organizations in sympathy with the purpose of the school.

The school had a very definite object—that of providing an auxiliary or specialized agency to serve the Socialist and Trade Union Movement of the United States in an educational capacity—to offer to the outside public an opportunity for studying the principles, purposes, and methods of this movement; and to offer to the adherents of the movement instruction and training along lines calculated to make them more efficient workers for the Cause.

That object it has pursued with ever increasing success. In spite of many handicaps, it has grown year by year. It began as a purely local institution, with a library and reading room and with evening and Sunday classes and lecture courses for residents of New York City who wished to spend in study such time as they could spare from their daily labor. This, which was at first the whole school, now continues as its **Local Department**.

A **Book Store** was soon added, which besides selling every year many thousands of books and pamphlets on social science and related subjects, has more recently published five valuable brochures and has others in contemplation.

In 1911 the Rand School inaugurated its **Full-Time Course**, for persons who could arrange to devote themselves wholly to intensive study for a term of six months. In the four years that have since gone by, sixty-one persons have entered this course. Thirty-eight men and eight women have completed it, while fifteen have withdrawn in mid-term on account of ill health, lack of funds, or for other reasons. The list of graduates includes residents of nineteen states and one Canadian province. About half were born in the United States, but there were also natives of Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Poland, Russia, Wales and China. Several are now holding positions of responsibility in the Party and trade-union organizations and the labor press, while others are doing good service in the rank and file of the movement.

In 1913, after some experimental attempts, the Rand School definitely launched its **Correspondence Department**, which met with a warm welcome. Up to the present time correspondence courses have been taken up by about 5,000 persons. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has formally endorsed this work and advised locals to form study classes, and almost all of the State Secretaries have spoken in warm terms of the service rendered by such classes in strengthening the party organization.

In 1913 a permanent **East Side Branch** was established, with rooms in the building of the *Jewish Daily Forward*. This has been attended by about one thousand students yearly.

Not to mention many smaller, incidental, or occasional activities, the year 1915 added two important new features to the School's work.

One of these is the **Department of Labor Research**, whose function is, by original investigation and by collation of the work of other agencies, to bring together, verify, and arrange information useful to the working-class movement, to make it accessible to students, and especially to put it at the service of the Socialist Party, of the Trade Unions, and of Socialist lawmakers and public officials.

The other new departure is the collaboration of the Rand School in the work of the **Interlocal Education Committee**, charged by the six party locals in Greater New York with the duty of conducting study classes in all parts of the city. Thirty-five such classes were formed in 1915.

The Courses pursued at the School during the term 1915-16 covered a wide range. Beside the fundamental courses in Economics, Socialism, History, Science, Public Speaking, Methods of Socialist Party and Labor Union Organization, series of lectures and lessons were given on special industrial, social and political problems by many leading specialists. Special courses have at various times been given under the auspices of different labor unions for the benefit of their members.

Among the many teachers and lecturers connected with the school, have been Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, Charles A. Beard, Franklin H. Giddings, James H. Maurer, George R. Kirkpatrick, Allan L. Benson, Scott Nearing, John Spargo, Florence Kelley, Lucien Sanial, Anna A. Maley, Lester F. Ward, Helen L. Sumner, S. E. Beardsley, Max Schonberg, Charles F. Zueblin, Louis B. Boudin, Duncan MacDonald, Benjamin C. Gruenberg and August Claessens.

By the variety, the extent, and the quality of its activities the Rand School has earned the title of the Workers' University of America, and has taken its place beside Ruskin College in England, the Socialist Party School in Berlin, the new University of Brussels, and other great educational institutions of the international working-class movement.

## 10. SOCIALISM AND THE YOUTH.

### I. The Socialist Sunday Schools.

The system of public instruction prevalent in this country glorifies the competitive idea as applied to industry, and all other walks of life. To prevent their children from being prejudiced against Socialism, to make their children realize the class struggle and their own part in that struggle, Socialists are beginning to supplement the work of the public schools:

In various locals, and branches of the Socialist Party, Sunday Schools for the instruction of children are maintained. Efforts in this direction have been spasmodic, and no accurate statistics of the number of schools, the number of teachers, etc., are available.

In New York State, Prof. Kendrick B. Shedd of Rochester had considerable success in conducting Sunday Schools.

The problems confronting the successful building up of an efficient Sunday School system are many, involving



primarily the formulation of a course of study that shall at once be adapted to very young children, and at the same time aim at a thorough understanding of the underlying principles of Socialism.

The Socialist Party of New York State has appointed a committee to make a study of Sunday Schools and to recommend improvements if any are needed.

## II. The Young People's Socialist League, 1915-1916.

(Report by Wm. Kruse, National Secretary.)

The Young People's Socialist League began its career as a National organization as a result of the action taken at the Socialist Party National Committee meeting of May, 1913. Previous to this there were a number of local organizations bearing the same name in various parts of the country. The step to formulate the national movement was taken at the request of the Chicago League. This branch claims, with some considerable validity, to be the first of its kind. It was organized in May, 1907, and though other organizations with similar aims and purposes may have existed at the earlier time, all evidence tends to give priority to the mid-western city.

The National Executive Committee of the Party in creating the Young People's Department at its meeting of October, 1913, instructed the head of this department to get in touch with all young socialist organizations in the country and to take steps to federate them into a national organization. This was done, prospective constitutions and plans for work were drawn up and submitted to the various organizations for their approval, various changes and amendments were made, and finally, in April, 1915, the present national constitution of the Y. P. S. L. was adopted by referendum vote.

The organization now embraces over one hundred and fifty circles with more than four thousand members. In five States, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania, there are state organizations in the field, and these greatly increase the value and stability of the leagues within their respective territories. Each organized State is represented on the National Committee of the Y. P. S. L. and the best of relations prevail between all the various divisions of the movement.

Close connection is maintained between the Y. P. S. L. and the Socialist Party Organization. The National Secretary of the League also serves as Director of the Young People's Department of the Party's National Office, for which position he is nominated by the Socialist Party N. E. C., and to which he is elected by the Y. P. S. L. membership. In all cases where the Y. P. S. L. owes its original existence to the aid and co-operation of the Party organization the best of

relationship prevails. The Y. P. S. L. members assist in propaganda and educational work, raise funds, and in general do a great deal to raise the standard of work and comradeship among even the older comrades. Some of our hard workers and able officers owe much of their present efficiency to the training received in the young socialist movement, and as time goes on this tendency will be more and more marked.

Through the national organization we are affiliated with the "Internationale Verbindung Sozialistischer Jugendorganisationen," of which Wilhelm Munzenberg, of Zurich, Switzerland, is the present International Secretary. It is to be said to the credit of the young socialists of Europe that they have shown as fine an anti-militarist spirit as have any European socialists in either warring or neutral countries. Two international conferences, one in April, 1915, the other in February, 1916, were held for the purpose of keeping intact the international affiliations.

The work of the Y. P. S. L. may be said to fall chiefly under two heads, Educational and Social. Study classes, reading circles, lectures, etc., make up the first, under which head comes also the discipline and training offered by the every-day routine of conducting a great national movement. Party members coming from the ranks of the Y. P. S. L. are certainly the better equipped for their apprenticeship in the young movement. On the social field almost every interest vital to the hearts and spirits of the young is catered to. Athletics, entertainments, and all forms of social intercourse are provided for, thus effecting the development of a spirit of comradeship that enhances every member's value to the movement in general.

Prospects for the League's further progress are unlimited. Older socialists are taking an ever increasing interest in the young movement, and as the great need and value of the Y. P. S. L. is being recognized, its boundaries are being pushed further and further forward. In the stirring times that are sure to follow the cessation of the world war the youth of the world, organized as it is today but on a vastly greater scale, is sure to play an important part in reconstructing the International on a more stable footing than that so ruthlessly swept away by the events of August, 1914.

In the Y. P. S. L. is combined the idealism of youth and the bed-rock practicability of good organization methods. The result will mean a step forward in the movement of both the old and the young socialists. Every step in the progress of the Young People's Socialist League is a gain for the International that is to be,

### The Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

(Report by Harry W. Laidler, Organizing Secretary.)

The Intercollegiate Socialist Society was organized September 12, 1905, in New York City, for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women. The following call for the organization was made by several publicists, including Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Jack London, Oscar Lovell Triggs, B. O. Flower, Clarence Darrow, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Wm. English Walling and Leonard D. Abbott:

"In the opinion of the undersigned the recent remarkable increase in the Socialist vote in America should serve as an indication to the educated men and women in the country, that Socialism is a thing concerning which it is no longer wise to be indifferent.

"The undersigned, regarding its aims and fundamental principles with sympathy, and believing that in them will ultimately be found the remedy for many far-reaching economic evils, propose organizing an association, to be known as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men, graduate and undergraduate, through the formation of study clubs in the colleges and universities, and the encouraging of all legitimate endeavors to awaken an interest in Socialism among the educated men and women of the country."

Jack London was elected first president, Upton Sinclair, 1st vice-president; J. G. Phelps Stokes, 2nd vice-president; Owen R. Lovejoy, treasurer; Miss M. R. Holbrook, secretary, and Morris Hillquit, Robert Hunter, Geo. H. Strobell, Mrs. Darwin J. Meserole, Geo. Willis Cooke and Harry W. Laidler, additional members of the Executive Committee. George R. Kirkpatrick was organizer for more than two years, and Fred. F. Merrick also served in that capacity for a few months.

The society is primarily a study, not a political propagandist organization. By the Spring of 1916 it had established Chapters for the study of Socialism in about 70 colleges and universities East and West, and Alumni Chapters in 17 centers of population. The undergraduate organizations hold study meetings on various phases of Socialism and public lectures. In 1915-16, John Spargo, Rose Pastor Stokes and Harry W. Laidler spoke in 120 colleges before over 30,000 students and 12,000 others. They addressed some 80 economics and other classes and spoke before over a score of entire college bodies.

The Society issues a quarterly magazine (25c a year) and publishes a number of research pamphlets in connection with this periodical, study courses, book lists, etc. It holds annual conventions during the Christmas holidays in New York City, and summer conferences. The summer conference of 1916 will be held at Sherwood Forest, near Baltimore, from September 18th to September 25th. The headquarters of the

Society are at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The officers of the Society for the year 1916-17 are as follows:

President, J. G. Phelps Stokes; Treasurer, Mary R. Sanford; Secretary, Leroy Scott; Organizing Secretary, Harry W. Laidler.

**Undergraduate Chapters** are located in the following institutions:

Albion, Amherst, Barnard, Bates, Beloit, Berkeley Divinity, Brown, California, Carnegie Inst. Technology, Chicago, Cincinnati, City College, (N. Y.), Clark, Colorado, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, East Tennessee Normal, Emory and Henry, George Washington, Grinnell, Hamline, Harvard, Howard, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Iowa State, John Marshall Law, Johns Hopkins, Kansas Agricultural, La Crosse Normal, Los Angeles Osteopathic, Mass. Inst. Technology, Miami, Michigan, Middle Tenn. Normal, Minnesota, Nevada, New York, New York Dental, New York Law, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oberlin, Ohio State, Ohio Wesleyan, Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Princeton, Radcliffe, Randolph Macon, Richmond, Rutgers, Simmons, Simpson, South Carolina, Springfield, Syracuse, Temple, Trinity, Union Theological, Utah, Valparaiso, Vassar, Virginia, Washington (Wash.), Washington-Jefferson, Washington and Lee, Wisconsin, Yale.

**Alumni Chapters** exist in Buffalo, Central California, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Portland, Schenectady, Seattle, St. Louis, Springfield, Washington, Wilkes-Barre.

## 11. THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS.

The Christian Socialist movement of the '80s and '90s, led by such men as W. D. P. Bliss, R. T. Ely and George D. Herron, was non-Marxian and unconnected with the Socialist Party of that time. Since 1900, however, Christian Socialism has stood for the movement within the Socialist Party of those who believe that only by means of the Socialist Commonwealth can Christian principles be applied in society.

The chief organization at present is the **Christian Socialist Fellowship**, a revival of the society existing several years ago under that name. The organ is the *Christian Socialist*, published at Chicago by the chief executive, Rev. Irwin Tucker. The Christian Socialist League is an organization belonging to the Episcopal Church, its organ being *The Social Preparation* and its national secretary, Rev. A. S. Byron-Curtis, of Newark, N. J.

It is important to note that Christian Socialism does not represent a special variety of either Christianity or Socialism, but a union of the two.

## 12. DIRECTORY OF PARTY OFFICIALS.

### I. Socialist Party.

**National Executive Secretary:**

Adolph Germer, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

**Representatives on International Socialist Bureau:**

Morris Hillquit, 30 Church Street, New York.

Meyer London, House of Representatives, Washington,  
D. C.

**National Executive Committee:**

Victor L. Berger, 528 Chestnut Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

Morris Hillquit, 30 Church Street, New York.

Anna A. Maley, 140 East 19th Street, New York.

John Spargo, Old Bennington, Vermont.

John M. Work, 1217 Rosedale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

**CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE U. S. IN 1916:**

Allan L. Benson, Yonkers, New York.

George R. Kirkpatrick, 66 N. 11th Street, Newark, N. J.

**State Secretaries Socialist Party.**

Alabama—John Hauge, Robertsedale.

Alaska—Chas. Canty, Valdez.

Arizona—Alice Eddy, 33 South Fourth Ave., Phoenix.

Arkansas—Freda Hogan.

California—T. W. Williams, 629 Wesley Roberts Bldg., Los Angeles.

Colorado—Emma F. Langdon, 1395 Lowell Blvd., Denver.

Connecticut—Martin F. Plunkett, 23 Wallace Bldg., Wallingford.

Delaware—H. D. Jellison, 1806 Tetnal St., Wilmington.

Dist. of Columbia—J. Webb Richman, 811 E St., N. W., Washington.

Florida—Franklin Pimbley, 317 W. Michigan Ave., Tampa.

Georgia—Mrs. Mary Raoul Millis, 229 E 10th St., Atlanta.

Idaho—I. F. Stewart, Nampa.

Illinois—John C. Kennedy, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Indiana—Wm. H. Henry, Room 30, Mansur Block, Indianapolis.

Iowa—I. S. McCrillis, Park Ave., Station, Des Moines.

Kansas—G. W. Kleihege, 1201 New Jersey St., Lawrence.

Kentucky—J. L. Stark, 715 So. 6th St., Louisville.

Louisiana—J. R. Jones, Georgetown.

Maine—Fred E. Irish, 57 Chestnut St., Bath, Me.

Maryland—Karl Hartig, 1463 Andre St., Baltimore.

Massachusetts—James Oneal, 14 Park Sq., Room 7, Boston.

Michigan—John Keracher, 512 Dix Ave., Detroit.

Minnesota—W. A. Stafford, 1317 Western Ave., Minneapolis.

Mississippi—Ida M. Raymond, R. R. No. 3, Jackson.

Missouri—Otto Vierling, 966 Chateau Ave., St. Louis.

Montana—Albert F. Meissner, Room 34, Silver Bow Block, Butte.

Nebraska—G. C. Porter, Morrill.

Nevada—Justus E. Taylor, P. O. Box 6, Reno.

New Hampshire—Fred E. Irish, 57 Chestnut St., Bath, Me.

New Jersey—Milo C. Jones, 124 Market St., Newark.

New Mexico—Mrs. DeRoy Welsh, Norton.

New York—U. Solomon, Room 941, 41 Union Sq., New York City.

North Carolina—B. T. Tiller, Asheville.

North Dakota—H. R. Martinson, Box 717, Minot.

Ohio—O. G. Van Schoyck, 101 N. High St., Columbus.

Oklahoma—H. M. Sinclair, Room 414,, Scott Thompson Bldg., Okla-  
homa City.

Oregon—Victor J. McCone, Arion Hall, 231½ Oak St., Portland.



Pennsylvania—Robert B. Ringler, P. O. Box 285, Reading.  
 Rhode Island—Robt. Hunt, Box 579, Providence.  
 South Carolina—Wm. Eberhard, 257 King St., Charleston.  
 South Dakota—E. F. Atwood, Sisseton.  
 Tennessee—L. R. Robinson, 2609 E. 13th St., Chattanooga.  
 Texas—W. T. Webb, Cisco.  
 Utah—C. T. Stoney, 713 First Ave., Salt Lake City.  
 Vermont—C. H. Reynolds, 10 Hillside Ave., Barre.  
 Virginia—B. F. Gunther, Brookneal.  
 Washington—D. E. Katterfeld, Box 491, Everett.  
 West Virginia—Edwin Firth, 1513 Seventh Ave., Huntington.  
 Wisconsin—F. W. Rehfeld, Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee.  
 Wyoming—Clement Gilleard, 508 First St., Rocksprings.

## II. Socialist Labor Party.

### National Secretary:

Arnold Petersen, 45 Rose Street, New York, N. Y.

### National Treasurer:

William A. Walters, 45 Rose Street, New York, N. Y.

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### Standard Dictionary.

"Socialism is a theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor, through the collective ownership of land and capital, and the public management of all industries."

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### Century Dictionary.

"Socialism is any theory or system of social organization which would abolish entirely, or in greater part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute for it co-operative action; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor and would make land and capital as the instruments and means of production, the joint possession of the members of the community."

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### Webster's International Dictionary.

"Socialism: A theory or system of social reform which contemplates a complete reconstruction of society, with a more just and equitable distribution of property and labor. In popular usage, the term is often employed to indicate any lawless, revolutionary social scheme."

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### Encyclopedia Britannica, Eleventh Edition.

"Socialism is that policy or theory which aims at securing by the action of the central democratic authority a better distribution, and in due subordination thereunto a better production of wealth than now prevails."

## PART FOUR.

# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOR MOVEMENTS

## THE INTERNATIONAL.

Dark as the present may be, we have yet no cause to despair for the future of the International. The International lives because it must live!

Next year it will be just seventy years since the first International of Labor, with its program, *The Communist Manifesto*, was born. But it was only the spirit of the International that was born at that time, not its body, for the **International Workingmen's Association**, the first international confederation of the revolutionary labor movement, was not organized till 1864. Twelve short years of struggle and effective labor were to be its lot. Then it died of the strife that Bakunin and his followers had roused. Thirteen years later it once more arose stronger and more alive than ever. In the meantime a great proletarian movement had been created, a movement that made war upon capitalist society not only in theory but in the hard practice of daily conflicts.

The first congress of the **Second International** was held in Paris on July 14, 1889, the hundredth anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, and was attended by 400 delegates from twenty countries. Then followed the International Congresses of Brussels (1891), Zurich (1893), London (1896), where the great anarchist discussion was held, Paris (1900), with the debate on ministerialism, Amsterdam (1904), Stuttgart (1907), Copenhagen (1910), and Basel (1912), the special Peace Congress. The Congress which was to have been held in 1914 in Vienna and which was transferred to Paris shortly before the date set was not held on account of the war.

The war had come, and with it almost automatically the **International Socialist Bureau** was at a standstill. Emile Vandervelde, its chairman, became a member of the Belgian national defense ministry, and the Bureau itself was transferred to The Hague and placed under the supervision of the Dutch socialists, with Camille Huysmans as secretary. Special conferences were held since the war began. Socialists from the Allied countries met in London, of Germany and Austria in Vienna, of the neutral nations in Copenhagen; the Italian and Swiss socialists also held a conference. These gatherings voted in favor of peace programs all based on opposition to all schemes of annexation and war indemnities and urging the creation of an international board of arbitration in the interests of permanent peace.

An important conference, attended by representatives of various groups, was held at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, in September, 1915, when, for the first time since the outbreak of the war, delegates from the nations fighting one another came together. Forty Socialist representatives of the political and industrial organizations of twelve countries, including Germany and France, were present. The British delegates were unable to attend owing to the difficulties of getting out of England.

This Conference addressed a manifesto to the Socialists of all countries in which all wars were declared wars of aggression, the so-called "civil peace" in the belligerent countries was denounced and the Socialists called upon to wage a relentless opposition to the continuation of the war. The Zimmerwald Conference was followed by another at Kiental, Switzerland, held in April, 1916.

A conference of the Socialist parties of the neutral nations affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau was held at The Hague on July 30 and August 1 and 2, 1916. It was attended by delegates from Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Argentina, and the United States (Algernon Lee). The resolutions adopted advocated free trade between all countries and the freedom of the seas, condemned proposals for a trade war, placed the ultimate responsibility for the war upon the capitalist system, urged a continued struggle for parliamentary government in politically backward countries, declared that a decisive defeat on either side was undesirable and that the present situation was favorable for peace negotiations, and also that the autonomy of nationalities must be realized through democratic decentralization of political institutions.

The following is an account of the Socialist and Labor Movements in the various countries of the world as far as it was possible to prepare under the present conditions of exchange of information.

### AUSTRIA.

An Empire, and a so-called constitutional Monarchy, but the government dissolves the Parliament so often and rules without it for such long periods that the "constitution" is mostly "out of order." The Parliament was dissolved in 1913 and since then has never been called together or a new election been ordered. The Parliament—the Reichsrath—is composed of two Houses, the Upper House (Herrenhaus) and the Lower House (Abgeordnetenhaus). The Herrenhaus is partly hereditary and partly nominated by the Emperor, and has about 270 members. The Lower House is elected for six years by manhood suffrage, every male citizen over 24 years of age with a twelve months' qualification having a vote. There are 516 members, who are paid \$5.00 per day's attendance.

A considerable part of Austria is industrially very highly developed, while the rest has remained purely agrarian. The

Austrian socialist labor movement began to make itself felt in the early seventies of the last century, but could not elect a representative to the Austrian Parliament until 1901. Tremendous exertions and a strong organization were necessary to elect ten men, every one of whom was elected in the voting-class set aside for the workers. With this success the struggle began for the democratization of the highly reactionary, plutocratic and at the same time feudalistic suffrage laws.

In January, 1907, after a threat of a general strike, the democracy was successful. In May of the same year the first elections under the general and direct suffrage laws were held, and 87 Social-Democratic representatives were returned, polling 1,041,948 votes. The hopes which this victory roused were bitterly disappointed. Before the Parliamentary machine could begin to work nationalistic struggles broke out with renewed vigor and made all social and democratic reform impossible. The Social Democratic Party, which had gone into the suffrage fight full of revolutionary spirit, began to show signs of opportunism. The natural desire of the parliamentary group and of the party leaders to rescue something; at least, from the unfortunate parliamentary situation, led to a period of "practical politics." The election of 1911 brought a slightly increased vote. The number of representatives fell to 82. Another element that helped to weaken the Austrian movement was nationalistic controversy in the ranks of the party itself. After years of harmonious work, Czech (Bohemian) labor unions were created, in opposition to the general socialist labor unions and carried the nationalist fight into the class-conscious labor movement. In consequence the whole Bohemian Social Democracy separated from the general party; the Reichsrath group was broken up and all comradely relations broken off. The International Congress at Copenhagen decided against the separatists, but this in no wise altered the situation. In the Congress of Vienna, to be held in 1914, the question was again to be discussed. The struggle has since lost much of its bitterness.

The Social-Democracy of Austria consists of two large groups, the German group, which had, before the war, 1,369 branches and a membership of 145,524, and the Bohemian group, with 2,473 branches and 144,000 members. There are also Polish, South Slavic, Italian, Croatian, and Ruthenian movements, which all, with two exceptions, have representatives in the Reichsrath.

The German-Austrian Party Press consists of 29 newspapers, of which, since the war, five are dailies, four appear three times, 9 twice and eleven once a week. The other groups published 31 papers, 4 of them dailies. Besides there are the scientific monthly *Der Kampf*, the *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung*

*Der Abstinert*, *Bildungsarbeit* and *Die Gluehlichter*, a Socialist humorous paper which has remained international, and *Der Junge Arbeiter*, conducted by Dr. Daneberg for the Young Socialist movement.

On March 25-28, 1916, a national conference of the German Austrian Party was held in Vienna, attended by 246 delegates. The Party Secretary, Skaret, submitted a report. The party membership has suffered severe numerical losses. Victor Adler, the much admired and gifted leader of the Austrian Social Democracy, spoke on "Austria after the war," maintaining that the experiences of the war had proved that the Social Democracy need not change its line of thought. The summoning of Parliament and the restriction of the political autonomy of the crown-lands in favor of the nation were his chief demands. In regard to the International, Adler declared that the International always was, and could never be anything more than a Federation of nationally organized parties, each one working within its own national boundaries, each one setting the interests of its own proletariat above all other interests, each striving, in the interests of its own proletariat for a union of the proletariat of the world. The revival of the International after the war will, he added, "be no simple task. There will be some who will not be able immediately, to shake off the effects of the terrible struggle. But after the war, perhaps even during the war, it will be possible to establish relations between the parties of all nations. There will come difficulties, and long discussions, but we shall find each other again, because we must find each other." His speech and his resolution justified the national war policy as to-day upheld by most of the national socialist parties.

Adler was opposed by his son, Friedrich Adler, the editor of *Der Kampf*, who presented a resolution, which stands firmly upon the position of the anti-war opposition. "The traditional position of the majority of the Socialist parties toward war is responsible for the present split in the unity of the labor movement." The resolution welcomes, therefore, the attempts of the minorities of the Socialist parties, to give expression to international solidarity even in time of war. "The unity of the Socialist organizations of the world," the resolution goes on, "can be assured only when the Socialists of all countries recognize as binding, decisions of the international congresses in all international questions." This resolution was lost, only fifteen votes being cast in its favor.

Thus the war policy of the Austrian Social Democracy was endorsed, though it had, after the Austrian declaration of war against Serbia, refused all responsibility for the war



and had only later recognized the war as one of national defense, when Russia went to Serbia's assistance. In July, 1915, the German-Austrian Social Democracy had published a peace manifesto which expressed the earnest desire of the people for peace. But this failed to satisfy the opposition, which in December, 1915, answered in another manifesto which attacked the party for its attitude toward the war, and for its unquestioning support of the government, which had rewarded the laboring class with brutal repression. Besides Friedrich Adler, Danneberg, Hilferding, the recently deceased Winarski, Gustav Eckstein, who died on July 30, 1916, at Zuerich and Theresa Schlesinger-Eckstein, many well known men and women of the Austrian movement, are members of the opposition. With Victor Adler are Pernerstorfer, Renner, Ellenbogen and Adelheid Popp.

The Austrian labor union movement is closely allied with the party organization. There are 428,000 members. 58,000 of them women, and including 322,000 Germans, 70,000 Bohemians (Czechs), 20,000 Poles, 9,000 Italians, 6,000 Slavs and 1,000 Ruthenians. The separatist Bohemian movement has 85,000 members. There are, also, Christian, i. e. Catholic, organizations with 80,000 members.

The socialist labor union press consists of 50 German, 44 Czech, 8 Polish, 1 Slovak, 1 Ruthenian and 3 Italian organs. This, alone, shows the difficulties that beset the path of the labor movement in the Austrian nations.

The co-operative movement in Austria, unlike the labor union movement, has made rapid progress in recent years. In 1908 the Central Union of Austrian co-operative organizations numbered 483 branches with 206,620 members, which, in 1909, had increased to 485 branches with 250,160 members. Since then they have grown until in 1914 there were 560 branches with 590,000 members. These co-operatives have large bread factories, the Hammerbrot-Works in Vienna, producing 50,000 loaves of bread, grain mills, etc., etc. There is hardly a city of any size with an industrial population in Austria that is without its co-operative labor organization. The war has, of course, hampered this growth, but it is impossible to destroy it completely.

Secretary of the Austrian Soc. D. L. P.: F. Skaret, Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna.

Secretary of the Czech-Slav S. D. P.: Anton Bruha, Hyberniska 7 Prag ii, Hungary.

The Secretary of the Gewerkschaftskommission Oesterreichs is: A. Hueber, Rechte Wienzeile 97, Wien.

**BELGIUM.**

Constitutional Kingdom. Bi-cameral system. Chamber of Representatives: direct and proportional representation, 4 years term. Every male citizen over 25 with 12 months' qualification has one vote, but property and other qualifications give one or two supplementary votes. Failure to vote is a misdemeanor. 186 members. Members receive \$800 per year. Senate 120 members; 27 elected indirectly by the provincial Councils: Others are elected on proportional system. Minimum age of elector 30 years. Property and other qualifications give one or two supplementary votes. 8 years term.

In the modern Belgian labor movement, the various divisions of the working-class act together to a degree unknown in any other capitalistically developed country. The Party, the labor unions and the co-operative movement were until the beginning of the war, so closely allied that the divorce of the party organization from this union was seriously considered, in order to give the Party more freedom of action. The outbreak of war prevented the carrying out of this plan.

The Belgian Socialist Labor Party was founded in 1885. It had first to struggle against the plutocratic election laws of the state, but with the labor union, and co-operative movements organized within the party movement, the Party was well equipped from the start with men and funds. Although the labor unions were, for the time, purely local in character, and were built up under the influence of the Socialist Party, their early alliance meant moral and financial support for the Party in its time of greatest need. Although it is difficult to determine the membership of the Belgium S. L. P. because the members of the Socialist Trade Unions and co-operatives are reckoned together, the number of Socialist deputies gives a fairly good picture of how the Belgian movement has grown in spite of the unfair election laws. The Party had representatives in the Chamber of Deputies as follows:

Representatives		Representatives	
1900 .....	33	1908 .....	34
1902 .....	34	1910 .....	35
1904 .....	28	1912 .....	39
1906 .....	30	1914 .....	40

In 1900 there were altogether 166 representatives in the Parliament. After 1910 their number was increased to 186. It is difficult to determine the size of the Socialist vote in Belgium, because of the plural voting system, and further because in many districts, it has been customary for Socialists and Liberals to unite upon one candidate to defeat the

clerical opponent. The following figures have been given, although they can, by no means, be accepted as accurate:

	Votes
1904.....	305,361
1907.....	469,094
1910.....	483,241

The membership figures given out by the labor unions affiliated with the "**Union Commission**" (trade unionists who believe in the class struggle) may, however, serve as a guide:

Year	Members	Year	Members
1906 .....	42,491	1910 .....	68,984
1907 .....	55,840	1911 .....	77,224
1908 .....	67,412	1912 .....	116,082
1909 .....	73,361	1913 .....	131,405

Before the war, there were 1,200,000 men, women and children employed in the industries of Belgium: the labor unions had control of more than 25 papers, 21 of which were monthly, 2 semi-monthly and one weekly organ. Of these 8 were published for 51,740 French, 8 for 36,100 Flemish and 24,000 French and Flemish speaking members. The organ of the Belgian seamen had a circulation of 2,000 and was printed in the Flemish, English and German languages. The largest union is that of the metal workers, with 30,000 members whose organ was printed for 20,000 members in French and for 10,000 in the Flemish language.

The so-called **Christian Labor Unions** which are organized upon a religious basis by the clericals in the interests of the capitalist class, and are, of course, completely separate from the bona-fide working-class organization, in 1913 claimed a membership of 71,235. The General-Secretary of the Belgian class-conscious labor organizations proved that according to their own financial reports, their membership could not exceed 42,066.

### Struggle for Universal Suffrage.

In spite of the numerical strength of the Belgian movement, it was impossible to gain increased Parliamentary influence, as the figures given above clearly show. A general strike for the purpose of forcing concession from the plutocratic government had been a failure in spite of the powerful showing that the labor movement had made and the tremendous fear that it had aroused in the ranks of capital. When, therefore, all later attempts by peaceable means to secure a change in the election laws had failed, the Party and the Labor unions resolved on a special Socialist-Labor Union Congress, held on June 30, 1912, after the election of 1912 had once more disappointed all hopes of increased political

influence, to call a second general strike on April 14, 1913, for the purpose of forcing the government to grant full manhood suffrage. Between 400,000 and 600,000 workingmen and women—the workers claim 682,000, the capitalists 400,000—stopped work. After three days a compromise was effected between the Party and the government, which resulted in the appointment of a commission for the purpose of studying the suffrage situation. This commission had not yet reported when the war interrupted its work.

**The Co-operative Movement of Belgium** is a noteworthy part of the Belgian labor movement. The printer, Edouard Anseele, founded the first co-operative undertaking at Ghent in 1873. This was followed shortly after, during a period of high priced bread, by a co-operative bakery, founded by the same organization. In 1880, the famous Vooruit (Forward) was started with a capital of thirteen dollars. This undertaking has met with phenomenal success, and has become so powerful an organization that it overshadows all the other labor organizations of Ghent. Anseele, the Socialist deputy, is still at the head of the "Vooruit" which to-day possesses one of the most beautiful buildings in Ghent, a library of 33,000 books, bakeries, which produce 100,000 loaves of bread a week, general stores, restaurants, ■ brewery, 7 drug stores, coal yards, six clothing stores, six shoe stores and twenty-three grocery stores and likewise controls a co-operative sick-benefit fund. Members of the "Vooruit," who are 60 years of age or over and have been members for 20 years, receive an old age pension, the amount of which is determined by their purchases in the Vooruit stores, varying from 2½ to 6 francs per week. In 1912 57,000 francs were thus paid out in old age pensions. As famous as the "Vooruit" is the "Maison du Peuple" in Brussels, which contained the National Office of the Labor Party as well as the International Socialist Bureau until the war broke out. It is larger than the "Vooruit." It had in 1913, 32,000 members, 450 employees, property valued at 800,000 francs. It has a number of butcher stores, 3 large bakeries which produce 211,000 loaves of bread a week, 6 department stores and 39 branch stores of various kinds. In 1913 475,000 francs were paid out in dividends to the membership, 40,000 francs worth of bread distributed to the poor and 120,000 francs paid out for sick benefits and doctors, and almost 100,000 francs given to Socialist propaganda. Besides party and labor organizations are given offices free of charge in the co-operative buildings.

### Attitude ■ War.

The Belgian Socialist movement took ■ definite stand on the war. On August 3, 1914, the Council of the Belgian

Labor Party decided to abandon all anti-war demonstrations, and issued a manifesto to all Socialist workingmen in which it was stated that they were justified in exercising the legitimate right of self-defense. "The Party shrank from nothing," reads this manifesto, "to warn the people, to prevent the folly of armaments, to drive back the catastrophe which will strike all European communities. But to-day the harm is done, and by the fatality of events, one thought dominates us: that soon, perhaps, we shall have to direct our efforts to stopping the invasion of our territory. We do so with all the more ardent hearts in that in defending the neutrality and even the existence of our country against militarist barbarism we shall be conscious of serving the cause of democracy and of political liberty in Europe." At the same time, the Council decided that the Socialist deputies in the Chamber should vote for the war-budgets. A few days later Vandervelde entered the Cabinet as minister without portfolio.

The whole Belgian Party, whose headquarters have been transferred to London, during the war, seems to be unanimous on the war question. In Ghent, Anseele is publishing the *Vooruit* under German military censorship. Before the war the *Vooruit* had a circulation of about 20,000, since then, partly because a number of Party newspapers ceased publication, it has risen to 34,000. The paper is published in the Flemish language, while the Socialist organ in Brussels appears in French. Anseele, the editor of the *Vooruit*, has held the paper aloof from all chauvinism, free from all hatred and nationalist prejudice. There is besides a local weekly *Volksteem*, which prints 1,000 copies.

Secretary Labor Party, L. Vandermissen, Rue Joseph Stevens, 17, Brussels.

Secretary Labor Federation, C. Mertens, Rue Joseph Stevens, 17, Brussels.

## BULGARIA.

Constitutional monarchy. King and National Assembly (Sobranje). Parliament consists of 211 members elected by universal manhood suffrage; one representative for every 20,000 population.

It is no mere accident that Bulgaria should have the strongest and most highly developed working-class movement of all the Balkan States. Capitalist development has progressed in Bulgaria during the last 15 years, with tremendous strides, has built up an industrial system, and with it, an industrial proletariat, has introduced a system of extensive farming and, by so doing, has turned the farming population of Bulgaria into a class of exploited and oppressed farm hands and wage slaves. In spite of the industrial development of the nation it was impossible, until 1911, to



succeed in sending a representative to the Sobranje. In December, 1913, there were already 37 Socialist representatives. In 1901, the two Socialist Parties, the "Broadminded" and the "Narrowminded,"—the Opportunists and the Radicals—polled 3,768 votes. The Socialist vote in subsequent years was:

Year	Votes	Year	Votes
1904 .....	10,652	1913 .....	107,000
1907 .....	13,360	1914 .....	85,489
1910 .....	25,265		

The first Socialist representative, a member of the "Broadminded Party," Sakanoff, justified the faith of his comrades, when the mobilization order was being ratified by the Sobranje, he was the only representative who voted against the ratification, declaring: "We do not want a Balkan Confederation instituted with a view to war. What we want, what we are preparing is a confederation uniting all the Balkan nations, including Turkey, for a work of peace, of labor, of production and exchange, a work of liberty and progress." When he went home from Parliament he was attacked by a mob of students armed with clubs and knives, and narrowly escaped with his life. But it was Sakanoff's great work that has opened the eyes of the Bulgarian people to the real causes underlying the war against Turkey, and later, the war against her recent allies. It was to his credit that in the election of December, 1913, the 25,000 votes of 1911 were increased to 107,000. The "Broadminded" elected 21, the "Narrowminded" elected 16 representatives. The government, however, refused to work with such a "socialistically poisoned Parliament," as the Prime Minister called it, and called for a re-election on March 8, 1914, in which only 20 of the 37 Socialists were returned to Parliament. Nevertheless even this was a huge success, for it showed that the Socialists were able to hold in times of peace 80 per cent. of the tremendous vote it had polled in a time of feverish war excitement.

Since October, 1914, the bitterness between the two Bulgarian Socialist Parties has been augmented by the acquiescence of the "Broadminded" Socialists in the government's war policy. The "Narrowminded" Socialists still firmly protest against all wars and have endorsed the Zimmerwald Conference and its declaration of principles. In October, 1915, they issued a manifesto calling the attention of the people to the intrigues of the government and demanding the preservation of Bulgarian neutrality. At the same time they indorsed the anti-militarist manifesto, which was adopted on September 16 by the Balkan Socialist Federation, repeating and indorsing the Socialist declaration given in the

Servian Skuptchina on August 23, 1914, in favor of a Peace Federation of all Balkan Peoples. As a consequence eleven members of the Bulgarian "Narrowminded" Party Executive Committee were summoned before a military tribunal to be tried for endorsing and distributing this manifesto.

The "Broadminded" or "United Socialists" have seven, the "Narrowminded" four newspapers, which altogether have a circulation of 168,000. The Socialists had, on January 18, 1916, 5,800, the "Narrowminded" 3,900 members.

**The industrial working-class organization of Bulgaria,** like the political, is divided into two Federations, which look upon each other with feelings that are anything but amicable. **The General Federation** had, before the Balkan war, 8,502 members, which were decreased to 5,350 and, on January 1, 1915, the reported membership was 7,584. The participation of Bulgaria in the war was harmful to the movement, for a large number of its members were called to military service.

Unemployed statistics covering 34 cities, taken in October, 1915, showed a large percentage of unemployed among the industrial workers, 8,719 out of 15,688 being unemployed. Altogether about 30,000 men and women were without work. The cost of living increased, at the same time, from 10 to 15 per cent. Socialists and Labor Unionists provided a fund for unemployed Socialists which in June 1915 amounted to 7239.12 francs, part of this sum being used to support needy Serbian comrades.

There was a lively strike movement as late as 1914, but this, too, ebbed with the outbreak of the war and Bulgaria's intervention. In the first half of the year 1914, the General Federation reported strikes in which 1,900 organized workers were involved. Ten of these were wholly and 12 partially successful; sixteen were lost. In these struggles 9290.40 francs were paid out in strike benefits.

Besides this General Federation there is the (radical) "**Free Bulgarian Union Federation**," which had, before the Balkan war 4,845 members, but had sunk to 4,000 members in 1914. On October 1, 1915, it had increased its membership once more to 4,900. The men and women who are employed in public departments and municipal industries, have also a national union, with a membership of 14,072, but are not permitted to join any "politically unsound" Federation.

**The Secretary of the United Social Democratic Labor Party (Broadminded)** is Constantin Bosvelieff, Journal "Narod," Sophia.

**The Secretary of the Social Democratic Party (Narrowminded)** is G. Kyrkow, "Naroden Dom," Levov Most, Sophia.

## DENMARK.

Constitutional monarchy. King and ministers responsible to the Legislature. The Diet is divided into two bodies: the Landsting (Senate) and Folkething (the lower house). The new constitutional law, passed by both houses and signed by the king on June 5, 1915, which became operative on July 1, 1916, provides general suffrage (men and women) for both houses. All persons who have reached their 25th year, who are not receiving public charity, or who, if they received such charity in the past, have since repaid it, are voters. The Landsting will have 72, the Folkething 140 members, elected proportionally.

Denmark was in the midst of a political crisis at the outbreak of the war. The conservative group in the Folkething, which had consistently opposed every attempt toward establishing a more democratic constitution, had been reduced at the election in May, 1913, to a party of seven. In the Landsting, the stronghold of the agrarians, the 32 reactionary representatives of this group were met with the united opposition of 33 deputies who stood pledged to constitutional reform. The Liberals had already moved for electoral revision in the previous Folkething, which proposed to make of the reactionary Landsting a body which really represented the people. The plan proposed was that all deputies were to be elected by popular vote, the King was to be deprived of the right of appointment, all property or real-estate qualifications were to be abolished, and finally universal suffrage for all men and women over 25 years of age granted. In the election of 1913, the Social Democratic Party had polled the largest number of votes—107,365, or 30 per cent. of all votes cast. The King, therefore, called upon the Social-Democrats to organize the new cabinet which, however, they refused. The Radicals, under the leadership of Mr. Zahle, then formed a ministry, which promised that the election reform should be its first and foremost task, and in consequence were promised the full support of the Socialist representatives. When the war broke out, the bourgeois Liberals eagerly welcomed the opportunity to postpone the whole reform question until the return of peace. But the strong Socialist representation frustrated this attempt, and on June 5, 1915, the new suffrage law went into effect.

The Social Democratic Party of Denmark was founded in 1878. Its development has been healthy, steady and gradual as the following table of election results will show:

1878....	767 votes,	0 Rep.	1898....	31,870 votes,	12 Rep.
1881....	1,689 votes,	0 Rep.	1901....	43,015 votes,	14 Rep.
1884....	6,806 votes,	2 Rep.	1903....	55,989 votes,	16 Rep.
1887....	8,406 votes,	1 Rep.	1906....	76,612 votes,	24 Rep.
1890....	17,232 votes,	3 Rep.	1909....	93,079 votes,	24 Rep.
1892....	20,094 votes,	2 Rep.	1910....	98,718 votes,	24 Rep.
1895....	24,510 votes,	8 Rep.	1913....	107,365 votes,	32 Rep.

There are at present four Social Democrats in the Landsting. On July 1, 1915, 1,060 Socialist delegates were elected to the various municipal assemblies. Meanwhile more than 100 more have been seated. In the provincial legislatures 24 Socialists are holding office. On October 1, 1915, the Party had 60,000 members, 8,000 of them women, organized in 483 local organizations. The Party press comprises 46 newspapers, which have an aggregate circulation of 174,300. The income of the Party press in 1915 was 2,065,183 crowns; 1,014 persons were employed by the Socialist papers.

The Danish Social Democratic Party has not joined the Zimmerwald Conferences. The Executive Committee announced its refusal to join in a letter to the International Socialist Commission in Berne, and its action was endorsed, against the opposition of a strong minority, by the Party convention.

The Danish Labor movement, as organized in the Danish General Federation, is an admirable one. More than 50 per cent. of all industrial workers are organized. Its relations with the Social Democratic Party are almost without a flaw. The latter send two delegates to the Executive of the General Federation. The class conscious organizations have a membership of 118,000. Besides this there are a number of syndicalist organizations, which have 5,400 members, the Christian Unions with almost 3,000 members, and a number of totally independent, mostly locally organized "unions," which are partly organized and supported by their employers. The total number of Danish organized men and women on January 1, 1916, was 142,675.

In the spring of 1916, a general struggle between capital and labor was imminent. The contracts which expired on February 1, affected 43,000 workmen and women in the General Federation and a few thousand others. The unions which had held a general conference of delegates from all Social Democratic labor unions in Copenhagen in September, 1915, had made all preparations for a general strike, should the employers carry out their threat of united action. But the employers' organizations realizing that the workers were ready for the fight, decided to keep their powder dry. Nor was the prosperity era, caused by the war, a favorable time for lockouts. Thus a serious struggle was avoided, except in the foundries, where 4,000 foundrymen and 4,000 members of the Union of the General workers were involved. These strikes, or rather lock-outs, were settled after ten weeks, in favor of the workers. The Labor Unions are, in consequence of the empty bluff of the employers' organization more powerful than ever.

Denmark has a strong co-operative movement, which is,

however, not of Socialist origin. The farmers were the first to organize co-operative dairies and slaughter-houses and thus secure a greater return for their products. The Social-Democracy extended this plan to the cities and reorganized them to suit the interests of the working-class. They began with a large bakery in Copenhagen and to-day own real estate and machinery to the amount of 650,000 crowns. The "Star" Brewery in Copenhagen is another great workingmen's co-operative undertaking, representing 1,400,000 crowns. Besides there are workingmen's dairies, butcher shops, coal-yards, a large number of co-operative stores and a co-operative Life Insurance organization. The profits of these undertakings are, in the main, turned over to the Social-Democratic Party for agitation work, while only a small portion is returned to the membership in the shape of dividends.

The Party secretary is T. Stauning: Danish Social Democratic Party, Roemersgade 22, Copenhagen.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is Carl F. Madsen, Norre Farimergade 49, Copenhagen K.

## FINLAND.

A Province of the Russian Empire with legislative independence. The Diet consists of one House of 200 members, elected by equal vote of every Finnish citizen, 24 years of age (man and woman). Each member receives \$280.00 for each session of 90 days.

Finland is the first country in whose Parliament the Socialists outnumber the deputies of all other parties taken together. Since June, 1916, 103 of the 200 seats in the Finnish Diet are held by the proletariat through its representatives of the Social Democracy. Moreover, this was no accidental victory, but the genuine achievement of a movement which occupies, because of its systematic and well organized propaganda and educational work, one of the first places among European Parties.

Finland's Labor Party is not very old. It was founded in 1899, and in 1903 officially joined the International Socialist Bureau. The first labor organizations were founded in the beginning of the eighties at the instigation of clever capitalists who thought in this way to head off the formation of a class-conscious labor movement. Finland was, until the last decade of the nineteenth century, an agrarian nation, and possessed up to that time no industry of any importance. But the last years of the century were a period of social and economic development, which might truthfully be said to have constituted an industrial revolution. The Finnish lumber and paper industries received a marked impetus from the fact that the virgin forests of the nation were traversed by



countless rivers, furnishing the water-power necessary for their profitable utilization. Numerous factories and saw-mills sprang up. Foreign capital found its way into the country, and fundamentally changed the economic structure of the whole nation. Wood, paper, textile, metal and other industries grew up. The small farmer sold his land very cheaply to the foreign capitalists and a nation of farmers was changed, in a few short years into a typical industrial proletariat.

Hand in hand with this development went the struggle for national rights, which had been sharply curtailed, after a short period of comparative freedom, by the Russian government. Finland's own army, which could not, according to its constitution, be used outside its own borders, was required by the Russian government in a special session of the Finnish Diet to be dissolved, but the request was unanimously refused. Nevertheless the Czar attempted to dissolve the Finnish regiments and draft the Finnish recruits into the Russian regiments in the Russian interior, although the Finnish constitution guarantees that no law shall be changed without the consent of Parliament. A splendidly successful military strike was the result. Tens of thousands of young men who had been called upon to enlist, refused to appear at the enlisting stations. Large numbers of these strikers emigrated to America, and here laid the foundations of a Socialist Finnish movement in the United States. In Finland a system of passive resistance proved most effective: the whole Finnish population, officials, capitalists, farmers and laborers met the Russian purpose with an attitude of indirect insubordination, which made its execution impossible. The Czar's government retaliated by completely destroying Finland's autonomy. The Finnish officials were replaced by Russians, and tschinovniks. Russian secret police, were imported in great numbers to introduce the Russian spy-system into Finland. The Diet was dissolved, the right of free speech and of free assemblage was annulled, and General Bobrikoff, a satrap of the worst kind, was made Governor-General.

The nationalist wave that arose as a consequence of this tyranny threatened completely to engulf the labor movement. But the young party emphatically declined to respond to any proposal towards a union of forces against Russia, and called attention to the oppression and persecution that had been the lot of the Finnish proletariat under the rule of the Finnish Bourgeoisie. It promised to do its utmost to prevent the russification of Finland, but in its own sense, with its own means, according to its own methods. It should be said in this connection that the Finnish Diet had been one of the most reactionary and antediluvian legislatures conceivable.

It was composed of four houses: 1, the nobility (composed of the self-elected heads of the old feudal houses); 2, the clergy (in which were seated members of the clergy and university professors); 3, the Burgherrn (men elected by the towns, where the man with a fortune of \$100,000 had one hundred votes, the man with \$1,000 one, while the man who had no fortune at all had none), and 4, the house of Land Owners, which was elected by the property owning farmers. A bill had to pass three of these four houses in order to become a law. It is greatly to the credit of the Finnish Social Democracy that it refused to be drawn into the nets of the nationalist agitation, and so maintained its clearly defined class lines.

The Finnish Socialist Convention of 1903 in Forsea established the Party as a political factor. The struggle for direct, universal, and secret suffrage for men and women was placed in the foreground of the political fight. The right of free speech and free assemblage, the extension of direct legislation and of social legislation, and a strictly Marxian program were adopted. The disastrous outcome of the Russo-Japanese war for Russia strengthened the Russian revolutionary movement to such an extent that the autocrats were forced to relent. Finland profited from this temporary eclipse of Russian despotism. The russification of Finland had been a complete failure and the military law was repealed in consequence of the military strike. Not more than ten per cent of the young men drafted to be soldiers could be forced to join the army. Russia gave in all along the line, but the Finnish patriots refused, with all sorts of insincere excuses to carry out their promise to introduce democratic election laws. The Social Democratic Labor Party grew by leaps and bounds, and in the year of the Russian Revolution, 1905, the great Finnish political general strike was called and carried out. Its unqualified success laid the cornerstone, not only for the most democratic, but for the most Socialist Parliament of the world.

The numerical growth of the Social Democratic Party has gone hand in hand with the political development of the nation. At the time of its organization, in 1899, the Party already had 9,446 members. During the period of the Russian persecutions, 1901, their number was decreased to 5,894, but grew with lightning rapidity after the great Russian Revolution, 1905-06, to 85,000. It was not to be expected that this flood of new members, who joined the Party under the influence of the fervor created by the revolutionary movement, should remain permanent, and so the year 1911 showed a decrease in membership to 48,406, which increased steadily, however, to 51,798 in 1912, to 56,700 in 1914, to 61,300 in 1915.

The number of organizations increased from year to year, as well as the number of Socialist clubhouses. Here, too, Finland leads the world, for there are more Socialist clubhouses and headquarters than churches. The Party's libraries are exemplary and their finances are in good condition. In 1903 the Party was worth 285,098 Finnish marks, in 1912 6,256,886. There are six daily and 10 weekly newspapers.

The eighth Party Convention held at Tammerfors in 1914 took up a question which will probably play an important role in the new Diet: Shall the Socialist group elect one of its members as president of the Landtag? When the Landtag group in 1913 elected Comrade Oskar Tokoi, the convention decided that under ordinary circumstances no Social Democrat should be elected to this office. Only in exceptional cases election should be held permissible, while under all circumstances the office must be vacated as soon as the absolute necessity for its occupation by a Social Democrat shall have ceased. The same convention decided, that the central organ of the Party, *Työnriisi*, should be brought into closer touch with the Party, that the Party should have the right to control its central organ, and to elect its editorial staff through the Executive Committee.

The Socialist vote and representatives have increased as follows:

	Vote	Representatives	
1904.....	100,000	—	
1907.....	329,946	80	including 9 women
1910.....	336,659	86	including 9 women
1913.....	310,503	90	including 10 women
1916.....	286,792	103	including 24 women

The **labor union movement** in Finland grew with the Socialist movement. Both work hand in hand in absolute harmony. The paper, lumber, metal and textile industries are the best organized, some of them having fifty per cent of the workers in their ranks. The total of all workers organized in the General Federation is 40,000. Finland has 8 labor union organs.

The **co-operative movement** of Finland is strongly developed and owns a large number of co-operative stores and model co-operative manufacturing associations which are conducted on a large scale.

**Finnish Social Democratic Party**, Puoluetöimikunta, Sir-kuskatu 3, Helsingfors. **General Confederation O. Tokio**, Sir-kuskatu 3, Helsingfors.

## FRANCE.

Republic with parliamentary government; the legislative power is exercised by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The President of the Republic is elected for seven years by a majority of both Houses, sitting together. The Senate is composed of 300 members, indirectly elected for nine years by an electoral college composed of delegates of municipal councils or Deputies, Councillors General and District Councillors of the Department. One-third retire every three years. There are still a few life members. Senators receive \$3,000 per annum. Chamber of Deputies: composed of 602 members, elected on manhood suffrage, every male citizen over 21 years of age (with a six months' qualification) having a vote. The Chamber is elected for four years. Members receive \$3,000 per annum.

France has long been known as the nation where political life produces great personalities, brilliant parliamentarians, but parties whose political issues are more clouded, less easily defined, than those of any other European nation. Nowhere else is it possible for the personality of the individual to find so great an opportunity for expression as in France. The brilliant speaker or writer can gather about him a following who care far less for his principles and their application than for his personal force and power. This temperamental peculiarity of the French people was responsible in no small degree for the countless small groups which for many years were characteristic of the French Labor movement, in the political as well as the economic field. In these circumstances the working-class could not hope to exert the slightest influence upon political and industrial conditions. This was changed only when, through the great personal power of Jean Jaurès, a union of the different Socialist Parties and groups, known as the United Socialist Party was brought about in 1906.

The **Socialist movement** in France is very old. Its beginnings date from 1860, when under the influence of Marx and Engels, the first attempts at socialist organization were made. The Paris Commune of 1871 destroyed the early promise of the movement, for the best known Socialists were either murdered or banished wherever they had not already made their escape. In 1877 it again became possible to carry on systematic socialist organization work. A weekly newspaper, *L'Egalité*, was published to propagate Marxian socialist ideas. Two years later this movement received the indorsement of a labor union congress held at Marseilles and soon after the Socialist Labor Party was founded, which took part in an election for the first time in 1881; but it did not succeed in electing representatives. In 1883 the Party was again divided into six different main groups, while a few members belonged to no organization at all.

The first great political victory was won in 1893 when 487,000 Socialist votes were cast and 40 representatives

elected. It was at this time that Millerand's entrance into a capitalist Ministry caused a crisis in the party and once more split the movement into two main groups, one led by Jean Jaurès and Viviani who favored Socialist participation in radical capitalist ministries, the other led by Jules Guesde and Marcel Sembat, who were their most determined opponents. These differences over tactics and questions of principle, which were often fought out in exceedingly bitter controversies, were hardly favorable to the growth of the French movement, so that in 1906, the vote was still only 877,999 and the number of Socialist deputies 54. In 1910 the vote jumped to 1,125,887 and 76 deputies were elected. But at the following election, the desertion of the new "Socialist" ministers Briand and Viviani, caused the vote to drop slightly, although the movement itself came out of the struggle strengthened and clarified, particularly as the former extreme wings, led by Guesde and Jaurès, were now in complete harmony, at least to all outside appearances.

A number of "independent" Socialists, elected by various small individual groups, have also been elected to the Chamber of Deputies. But they play no part in Socialist activity and stand in no connection with the Socialist organizations. The vote in the more important national elections was as follows:

Year	Vote.	Socialist deputies	Independent Socialists
1902 .....	660,827	37	12
1906 .....	877,999	54	20
1910 .....	1,106,047	76	32
1914 .....	1,379,860	101	29

At first the Party organization made no great progress and even to-day stands far behind that of the other European nations. In 1912, when the Party had already elected 76 deputies to Parliament, it had only 63,358 members in good standing, besides about 20,000, who were more than four months in arrears. Here again the characteristic French individualism, which makes impossible the self-effacement that is necessary for a firm organization must be held partly responsible, although the fact that no inconsiderable part of the Socialist organization is composed of farmers also makes the work very difficult.

The French Socialists possess great influence in the municipalities. In the early nineties, when the German Socialists, for instance, just began to take part in municipal elections, the French comrades had already succeeded in getting control of big industrial centers like Roubaix, Toulon and Marseilles and had then instituted reforms on a large scale. In 1912, when the last general municipal elections were



held, 282 cities and towns fell into the hands of the Socialists and 5,530 Socialists were elected to municipal offices. In Paris, which still retains its distinctly middle class character, and is controlled by a middle class radical nationalism, the Socialists elected only 15 out of 80 councilmen.

The Socialist press of France is comparatively weak. *L'Humanité*, the central organ, was self-supporting before the war and had about 30,000 subscribers. There were also before the war about 30 weekly papers of strictly party character. Many of them were discontinued soon after the war broke out.

The French Socialist movement, having lost its leader, Jean Jaurès, one of the most brilliant men of France, and after the death of Bebel, the leading member of the International, (he was shot either by a crazed nationalistic fanatic, or by a hireling of the French chauvinists) suffered particularly through the outbreak of the war. When war was declared by Germany Jules Guesde and Marcel Sembat, both formerly emphatic opponents of Socialist ministerialism, immediately became members of the French Ministry, with the consent of the Party. Several months after Albert Thomas joined them as Minister of Munitions. Although it seemed at first as if the French Party stood solidly behind its ministers, the first Zimmerwald Conference already showed that there was a Party minority which vigorously and openly opposed the war-attitude of the Party. The minority was led by the deputy Bourderon and Merrheim, the national secretary of the Metal Workers Federation. Its organ is the *Populaire du Centre*, which represents the extreme opponents of the war, who are striving to re-establish international relations. Recently there has also appeared a "moderate" opposition, which strives only for a renewal of international connections with the Socialist Parties of Europe and has its own paper *Le Populaire*, which is edited by Jean Longuet. The French Socialist Party and the Belgian Social Democratic Labor Party are the two European Parties, which absolutely refuse to meet representatives of the German or Austrian parties. The fact that in June, 1916, three Socialist deputies for the first time refused to vote in favor of the new war fund—the deputies Raffin-Dugens, Blanc and Brizon, all members of the Second Zimmerwald Conference—is proof of the influence which the opposition has already gained. The followers of Longuet who already include from 20 to 30 deputies are only waiting for a favorable moment to organize an independent parliamentary group, and to attempt to renew relations with the Social Democracies of Austria and Germany. Whole Federations, as for instance the Seine Federation, those of Haute Vienne and Isère, of Orange (Department Vaucluse),

and the cities of Marseilles, Toulouse, Lyon, and Toulon are, according to the reports of the English *Labor Leader* and the French opposition organs, opposed to the stand of the Party majority. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the great majority still stands behind its members, as was plainly shown by the discussions in the National Council in April, 1916, when the resolutions presented by the deputies and the Executive Committee of the Party were adopted by 1,987 against 960 votes.

The strength of the French Party organization in this crisis is very gratifying. Dubreuilhin, the Secretary of the French Party, in his report of March 6, 1916, states that the membership of the Party before the war was 75,312. In 1915 24,638 new membership cards were filled out, and the dues stamps collected from the Federations. When one considers that the North Department—occupied by the Germans—alone had 12,000 Party members, and that the neighboring Departments, Pas-du-Calais, Aisne and Ardennes also had a large Party membership, the French Party well may be satisfied; 1,500 of its 2,000 branches are still active, the number of Federations is still, as before the war, 83.

The **French labor union movement** is distinguished from those of all other nations in that it is mainly syndicalistic. This kind of labor union, which was created in France, and found active support in the southern nations of Europe, Italy, Spain and Portugal, attributes but slight importance to a well organized movement, and lays its main emphasis on the readiness to strike. It avoids centralization wherever possible, discourages great union funds and sees in the general strike the real weapon of the working-class. It either directly opposes or at least neglects political action as unimportant. The central organization of the French labor unions is the General Confederation of Labor with 600,000 members who are grouped into a number of national Federations, for the most part, almost entirely in organizations based upon the industrial form of organization. Just before the war there was a tendency toward greater centralization, toward higher dues and systematic support of the strikers. More and more, the desire to emulate, to a degree at least, the German form of organization had found expression.

The war has brought the French Syndicalists and the Socialist Party into closer harmony than ever before. What no one could have foreseen has happened: the French Syndicats favored the war, recognized it as a war of national defense, and so failed to fulfill the apprehensions of the government. The Syndicalist daily paper, *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, was frequently so chauvinistic that it was called to order by the Party newspapers. It finally ceased publication

in December, 1915, because severe differences among the directors of the paper as to the war, had broken out. In its place a weekly *Le Bataille*, is now being published. Meanwhile an anti-war minority has made its appearance in the Labor Confederation, under the influence of Alfred Merrheim. The Executive of the Metal workers union, second in strength and numbers among the French Syndicats, stands completely with the minority. It has addressed two manifestos to the workers of France and to the International—the latter on the death of the splendid Socialist leader and uncompromising enemy of war, Keir Hardie—which were openly endorsed by a number of local Syndicats and by two other national Federations. But in the union movement, too, the majority still stands with the General Secretary, Jouhaux, who favors a continuation of the war until the Allies have forced the Germans out of France and Belgium.

**Secretary of the Socialist Party: Louis Dubreuhl, 37 rue Sainte Croix de la Bretonnerie, Paris.**

**Secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travail, L. Jouhaux, 33 Rue de la Grange aux Belles, Paris.**

## GERMANY.

Constitutional Monarchy; the Bundesrat represents the individual States of Germany, and consists of 61 delegates from the States composing the Empire. Its functions, with the important exception that its consent for any legislation is necessary, are mainly administrative, and consist in the work of 12 Committees for various Departments of State business. Declarations of war, the making of treaties, the dissolution of the Reichstag, and the settlement of disputes between State and State form part of the duties of the Bundesrat. The Reichstag represents the German nation and consists of 397 members. It is elected by all male Germans of 25 years of age, but on an allocation of seats which has not been changed since 1871, and now results in serious under-representation of the great cities and industrial districts. All new bills, finance and tariff legislation come before the Reichstag, but if it disagrees with any measures it has no effective power of enforcing its views on the Government which can dissolve it at any time. Each member receives \$750 (3000 Mark) a year, with a deduction of 20 Mark (\$5.00) for each day's absence.

The German Social Democratic movement is not only the oldest in Europe, but was also—before the outbreak of the war—the strongest, the most efficiently conducted and organized, and the most harmonious movement in the world. In strength it was unexcelled; financially it was upon a firm basis. Its relations with the labor and the co-operative movements, its influence upon the young workers of the country, its educational system and in short the whole organization of the German Social Democracy were a credit and an honor to the mental and moral efficiency of the German proletariat, which had created this movement by its own strength. The

growth of the German Social Democracy, which went to the polls for the first time in 1867, is shown by the following figures:

Year	Votes	Per cent. of total vote	Representatives
1871 .....	124,655	3.0	2
1874 .....	351,952	6.8	10
1877 .....	493,288	9.1	13
1878 .....	437,158	7.6	9
1881 .....	311,961	6.1	13
1884 .....	549,990	9.7	24
1887 .....	763,128	10.1	11
1890 .....	1,427,298	19.7	35
1893 .....	1,786,738	23.2	44
1898 .....	2,107,076	27.2	56
1903 .....	3,010,771	31.7	81
1907 .....	3,259,020	28.9	43
1912 .....	4,250,329	34.8	110

This gain in votes went hand in hand with a marvelous growth of the organization. From a very modest beginning, the membership of the Social Democracy had on July 1, 1912, reached 970,112 (including 130,371 women). On July 1, 1913, the number was 982,850 (including 141,115 women), and on July 1, 1914 it was 1,085,000 (including 174,754 women). The party is organized according to Reichstag election districts, each of which sends its representative to the annual congress. These party congresses elect the Party Executive Committee, which is a body of ten salaried officials, as well as a Control Commission of nine members which is above the Executive Committee. The highest official party authority, after the annual congress, is the Party Central Committee (Partei-Ausschuss), which is made up of the representatives of 29 district federations. These district organizations elect their representatives to the Central Committee directly. At the beginning of 1914 the Party had about 200 salaried secretaries all over the country.

Among the most admirable accomplishments of the German Socialist Movement, are the **educational commissions** which were organized by the party in conjunction with the labor unions, through an especially elected Central Educational Committee. Before the war, there were 364 branches, all provided with regular instruction, plans of work and assistance in the arrangement of lectures, artistic and occasional entertainments of all kinds. For this purpose alone the party in 1912-13 spent \$175,000. More than 3,500 lectures of high quality on all subjects, first-class theatre and opera performances, concerts and art exhibitions were arranged in this one year. Plans for the adaptation of motion

pictures for the purposes of Socialist propaganda and instruction were well under way, when the war began. The party supports a school in Berlin, where each year 31 men and women, chosen by the district organizations, receive a seven months' course of theoretical and practical education to equip them for the literary, organization and propaganda work of the party. During their school term these pupils receive not only sufficient funds to support them in Berlin, but their families also receive financial support. The budget of school is about \$14,000 each session.

A special **women's department**, conducted by two salaried women secretaries, conducts the agitation among women, publishes leaflets and pamphlets and reports annually at the Women's Conference which meets in conjunction with the Party Congress. The Women's Conference in turn, instructs the women's department and suggests lines of activity. Even broader is the activity of the party in the interests of the coming generation. (See article on the Young People's International.)

The Socialist press of Germany, like the German movement, has never found its equal in the proletarian movement. These papers are all exclusively party property and are wholly controlled by the membership who submit all complaints to a press commission elected by the party. These press commissions elect the editors. In 1914 the German Social Democracy possessed 91 papers, 86 of them dailies; 83 are produced by printing plants which also belong to the party. In 1912 the total circulation of these papers was 1,500,000. In July, 1914 this circulation had increased to 1,780,000. The central organ is the Berlin *Vorwaerts*, which is also the local organ in Berlin. Before the war *Vorwaerts* alone yielded an annual profit of \$75,000 for the party. Its circulation was 130,000. The socialist humorous illustrated journal *Der Wahre Jacob* had a circulation of 400,000 and made a profit of \$12,500. The Woman's paper *Die Gleichheit*, edited by Klara Zetkin, had a circulation of 107,000, the scientific weekly, *Die Neue Zeit*, edited by Karl Kautsky, 15,000 copies and the *Kommunale Praxis*, the organ for municipal social science, 8,000 copies. The party publishing company in Berlin, in 1912-13, published 70 leaflets and pamphlets on a variety of subjects, aggregating 2,750,000 copies. In addition, almost all of the larger party printing offices publish socialist literature under the direction of the district party organizations.

In the different State legislatures the Social Democratic Party has 230 representatives; on July 1, 1914 there were in the different municipal and town councils 13,400 Socialists. The national headquarters in Berlin are located in a building erected by the Party at a cost of \$1,125,000.



When the war broke out and the Government brought the budget before the Reichstag only fourteen of the Socialist deputies had decided to vote against it contrary to the decision of the majority of the Reichstag group. The opposition, though weak at first, was composed of some of the most distinguished men and women of the German movement, Haase, Liebknecht, Stadhagen, Franz Mehring, Klara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg as well as Karl Kautsky, who was somewhat more moderate in his criticism. It grew rapidly, so that, when the second war budget came before the Reichstag, Liebknecht voted against it and 15 others showed their opposition by leaving the chamber before the vote was taken. Liebknecht and Ruehle voted against the third war credit and 30 members this time left the Reichstag; and when on December 15, 1915, another war credit was introduced, twenty Socialist deputies voted against it. This minority later formed itself into the "Social Democratic Workers Community" as a separate party group, but not as a separate party. Besides these twenty who voted against the war credit, in March, 1916, twenty-two others left the chamber before the vote was taken.

There are at present roughly speaking three groups in the German Social Democracy. The extreme radical opposition, represented by Liebknecht, Ruehle, Mehring, Zetkin, and Luxemburg; the group consisting of Kautsky, Haase, Adolf Hoffmann, Stadhagen, Wurm, Bernstein and others, and the representatives of the majority including Scheidemann, Suedekum, David, Heine, Ebert, and Molkenbuhr.

The government, in the meantime, has ruthlessly continued its persecution of the opposition. Karl Liebknecht was arrested for speaking for peace in Berlin on May Day and for distributing peace leaflets. He was condemned at first to 30 months' imprisonment. Upon appeal this term was increased to 49 months and he was also deprived of all citizenship for six years. Many radical Socialist men and women are confined in so-called "Schutzhaft," that is, they are being kept in prison till the end of the war. Newspapers have been suppressed and editors have been punished. Rosa Luxemburg is in prison, and Klara Zetkin was released only after seven months.

The free labor union movement grew up with the party. It was created by the party and is stronger than that of any other nation. The unions affiliated to the **General Commission of German Labor Unions** on January 1, 1914 numbered 2,548,763 members. Outside this organization there are 344,687 Christian and 106,400 Hirsch-Dunker (liberal) unionists. There are also Protestant, Catholic and "yellow" unions, but these altogether have not more than 140,000 members. Germany has 46 national unions. Germany is more and more

adopting the industrial form of organization. The strongest German unions are the metal workers with 556,939 members, the building trades with 326,631, the transport workers with 229,785, and the factory workers with 210,569 members. The following shows the growth of the free (socialist) unions:

	Unions	Members
1891 .....	62	277,659
1896 .....	51	329,230
1901 .....	57	677,510
1906 .....	61	1,831,731
1911 .....	48	2,320,986
1912 .....	47	2,530,390
1913 .....	47	2,548,763
1914 .....	46	2,052,377

The *Correspondenzblatt der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands*, the weekly organ of the Trade Unions shows in a statistical survey published on September 25, 1915, that on July 31, 1915, 1,061,404 members of German Socialist trade unions were serving in the army, that is, over 42 per cent. of the whole membership. The highest and lowest percentages of union members drafted into the army are to be found in the following unions: bakers 73.2%, gardeners, 63.1%, factory workers, 61.3%, clerks 27.5%, tobacco workers 23.6%.

The **co-operative movement** of Germany, for the last fifteen years divided into two sections, one of the workers and the other of the middle class, is splendidly organized and highly developed.

**National Headquarters:** German Social Democratic Party,  
Linden Strasse Berlin.

**General kommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands:**  
C. Legien, Vors., Engelufer 15, Berlin.

## GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Constitutional Monarchy; monarch holds his position solely by the authority of an Act of Parliament, which is of no more, and also of no less, authority and permanence than other Acts of Parliament; it was passed in exactly the same way as any other Act, and if it had to be amended or repealed this would be done by another Act of Parliament in the ordinary form. This has been done once before, when the Crown was settled on the heirs of a protestant princess instead of the regular catholic heir.

The supreme legislative power of the British Empire is vested in Parliament; this body consists of two houses, the Lords and the Commons. The House of Lords is composed of the whole Peerage of England and of the United Kingdom, and of certain representative Peers of Scotland and Ireland, but many members of these latter have also English titles which give them seats in the House. The House at present consists of 3 Princes of the Blood, 2 Archbishops, 21 Dukes, 26 Marquesses, 121 Earls, 46 Viscounts, 24 Bishops, 356 Barons, 16 Scottish Repre-

sentative Peers elected for each Parliament, and 27 Irish Representative Peers elected for life. The Lord Chancellor of England is the Speaker of the House of Lords.

The House of Commons consists of 670 members—465 for England, 30 for Wales, 72 for Scotland and 103 for Ireland. Salary of each member \$2,000 per annum. The division of parties in the House of Commons, after the General Election in December 1910 was: Liberals 272; Nationalists 76; Independent Nationalists 8; Labor 42; Unionists 272.

To the outsider the British labor movement in its industrial, political and co-operative aspects, presents itself as a bewildering and an entangled group of organizations without apparent plan and made still more confusing by the titles and designations of the different bodies. Although the movement has grown haphazardly and experimentally, it is more cohesive than it seems, and there are signs that a better co-ordination of activities will result in the near future. The movement is essentially practical and is particularly fertile in practical suggestions. Although the doctrinal side is not conspicuous, the great world tendencies of industrial democracy and Socialism are potent forces. Before judging the movement it must be carefully studied in relation to the conditions under which it works. The facts which are presented in the following description of the British labor movement have been partly drawn from the first (1916) issue of the Labor Year Book, published under the auspices of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the executive committee of the Labor Party, and the Fabian Research Department.

The "Labor Party," is a federation consisting of trade unions, the "Independent Labor Party," the "Fabian Society," the "Women's Labor League," one co-operative society, and a large number of trade councils and local labor parties. It has a national executive of 16 members consisting of eleven representing the trade unions, one for the trades councils and local labor parties and the Women's Labor League, three for the Socialist societies, and a treasurer, who is elected by an annual conference as a whole, while the other 15 members are elected by ballot at the annual conference by their respective sections. The secretary, who is not a member of the executive, is also elected by the annual conference. There is also a Scottish Advisory Council with an executive committee.

The Parliamentary Labor Party consists of those members of the House of Commons who have been elected under the auspices of the Labor Party. The number of successful candidates at the last General Election in December, 1910, was 42. Six have since died. Two new members have been elected at by-elections. The present strength of the Party is 35.

The Independent Labor Party is a distinct organization

which carries on socialist propaganda, its objective being defined in the following terms: "The Object of the Party is to establish the Socialist State, when land and capital will be held by the community and used for the well being of the community, so as to secure the highest possible standard of life for the individual. In giving effect to this object it shall work as part of the international movement." The late James Keir Hardie was the founder of the I. L. P. Its present representatives in the Labor Party in Parliament are J. Ramsay-MacDonald, Philip Snowden, F. W. Jewett, W. C. Anderson, J. R. Clynes, James Parker and T. Richardson. There are nearly 800 branches with a membership of 60,000. Its official organs are *The Labor Leader* (weekly), and the *Socialist Review* (quarterly), as well as various local papers, weekly and monthly publications, of which the *Forward* of Glasgow is best known. The I. L. P. has throughout the war been in conflict with the war policy of the "Labor Party," declining to help the recruiting campaign and holding to the international socialist attitude as steadfastly as possible.

At a national conference of the I. L. P. held at the end of 1915 at Keswick a resolution was adopted indorsing the refusal of the I. L. P. members in Parliament to vote in favor of participation in a coalition ministry. Furthermore the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "The Conference is of the opinion that it is the duty of the Socialists of all countries to determine once and for all that the Socialist Parties shall, in the future refuse to support any government in any war, whatever the apparent cause of the war may be even if the war be conducted in the name of self-defence." Finally the Conference indorsed the Zimmerwald Conference and its decisions, and regretted that its delegates to Zimmerwald had been prevented by the British Government from leaving England.

The **British Socialist Party**, formerly the Social Democratic Federation, which includes or has included H. M. Hyndman, Herbert Burrows, Joseph Cowan, William Morris, Belfort Bax, H. H. Champion, John Burns, Jack Williams, Edward Carpenter, the late Harry Quelch, and the late Walter Crane, issued a manifesto at the beginning of the war which caused considerable dissension and at the annual conference in 1916 led to a split in the organization. Hyndman and his followers founded the **National Socialist Party**, while the other wing continued as the B. S. P. The weekly organ *Justice* is now the organ of the Hyndman group. Before the split the majority had adopted in a conference and by referendum vote an indorsement of the Zimmerwald Conference.

The **Fabian Society** consists of so-called middle-class intellectual Socialists, among its distinguished members past

and present being Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells (since resigned), Sidney Webb, Annie Besant, Sir Sidney Ollivier and Graham Wallace. The "basis" of this society defines its aim as "the reorganization of Society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. . . . Industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the working class being now dependant upon that class for leave to earn a living." The Fabian Society's method has been called "the policy of Permeation," because it urges its members to use whatever influence they possess in any circles whatsoever to promote Socialist opinions and to induce action in the direction of Socialism. The society has done valuable work by publishing books and numerous tracts. Its unofficial mouthpiece is *The New Statesman* (weekly). There are about 2,500 members belonging to the society in London, and also many small local Fabian Societies in provincial towns and at most of the universities. The work of the society may be summed up as the research and dissemination of exact knowledge relative to economic and political subjects rather than soapbox propaganda.

The **Joint Board** is representative of the **Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress**, the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, and the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, and is composed of three members and the secretary of each section. The original object was to prevent overlapping between the three organizations, ensure frequent consultations between the national officials respecting political and parliamentary action and arrange for the offices of the three organizations to be in the same building. The Joint Board acts as a judicial body to determine the bona fides of any trade union affiliated or applying for affiliation to either of the constituent organizations, and has also acted as a court of arbitration in disputes between unions.

The **Women's Labor League** has over 100 branches in Great Britain. It has nearly one hundred members on town and borough councils, boards of guardians etc. Its official organ is the *Labor Woman* (monthly).

The **Socialist Labor Party** represents the British section of the organization founded in the U. S. by Daniel DeLeon. It has 8 branches in various parts of Great Britain.

The **Socialist Party of Great Britain** was formed as the result of dissension in the Social Democratic Federation in 1914. According to its declaration of principles it enters the field of politics: "determined to make war against all other



political parties whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist." It has 25 branches, mostly in London.

The **University Socialist Federation** includes every kind of socialist organization in universities and centres of higher education.

The **Trade Union Congress** which has met annually since 1871, has become a regular gathering of about 600 delegates, representing about 200 district trade unions including about 2,700,000 members. The unions are grouped into 12 sections from which the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress is annually elected. The Parliamentary Committee has for its functions the outlining of legislation affecting labor, the initiating of legislation as directed by the Congress, and transacting all business connected with the annual Congress. There are also the **Scottish Trade Union Congress** and the **Irish Trade Union Congress**. The Scottish Congress consists of 51 organizations with 225,000 members; the Irish Congress of between fifty and seventy affiliated bodies.

The **General Federation of Trade Unions** was formed in January, 1899, out of a possible 1,500 trade unions, the number belonging to the Federation being only 146 with 1,086,000 members. The benefits given by the Federation are financial, advisory, moral, and educational; but its chief aim is to promote closer organization of industries and amalgamation of unions working in similar occupations.

The total number of separate Trade Unions in the United Kingdom at the end of 1914 was 1,123 with a total membership of 3,959,863. The growth of membership has been very steady. In 1899 the number was 1,860,913; in 1907 it had increased to 2,425,153; and in 1911 to 3,018,903. Apart from the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party, which is a mixed federation composed of trade unions and socialist bodies, united for a special political purpose, and those local labor parties and trade councils, which, though federal in structure, have special functions of their own, there are about 119 federations, of which one third are local, and in addition numerous joint committees and working agreements serving to link up the sections of the industrial movement. The General Federation of Trade Unions is one of the 119 federations mentioned above, as well as such organizations as the Miners Federation of Great Britain, the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades, the Textile Federations, the General Laborers National Council, and the National Joint Committee of Postal Telegraph Associations. Trades Councils are local federations of trade union branches. They number 273 with 1,523,274 members. Their activities are

political as well as industrial and work in close association with the local labor parties. In certain counties and groups of counties there are federations of trade councils.

The relative merits of craft and industrial unionism promise to form the great subject of discussion in the immediate future. The **National Guild League** has been established to advocate "the abolition of the wage system and the establishment of self-government in industry through a system of national guilds working in conjunction with the state." It proposes that the guilds should be in the possession of the management of industry and that the state should be the owner of the means of production, and that all the guilds should be linked up in a Guilds Congress, which should act in harmony with the state, the guild representing the people as producers and the state representing the people as consumers.

The membership of the women's unions is 365,963. The women cotton weavers are the best organized, 43.68% being trade unionists.

The labor movement of Great Britain was practically unanimous in its opposition to the introduction of general conscription. At a Conference held in February, 1916, attended by thousands of delegates, representing three million workers, a resolution was adopted by 1,998,000 against 783,000 votes, which voiced the emphatic protest of the labor movement against the conscription law. It was the influence of the members of the I. L. P. that was responsible for the strong anti-militarist sentiment among the delegates. The Government, however, passed a conscription law. The most notable and most active opposition to it and the Munitions Act came from the Clyde district, where MacLean, the leader of the Clyde movement, had for years imbued his followers with a strong Socialist and anti-militarist spirit of revolt. This aggressive spirit found expression in a number of extended strikes which were put down with exceptional brutality by the British government. MacLean was arrested and condemned to a long term in prison.

The **Co-operative movement** is described as having the good and the bad points of an organized body growing without a previous plan. The common type is the consumers' co-operative society, a local group of purchasers which may be 100 or 30,000, organized upon democratic lines for mutual supply, a common education and a common social advancement. These societies are nationally organized in federations. The two main federations which include no private shareholders are respectively the English and the Scottish Co-

operative Wholesale Societies. There are also societies for production formed partly of self-employing workers, partly of private societies, and partly of consumers societies. These societies are federated in the **Co-operative Productive Federation**. There are also smaller federations. Then there is the **Co-operative Union**, a federation over Great Britain and Ireland of societies of every type conforming with the provisions of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act. It is the union which holds the annual congress of the co-operative movement. Apart from the union, but within the movement are the **Women's Co-operative Guilds** which are national self-governing organizations of women attached to the Consumers' Societies, English, Scottish and Irish. The National Men's Guild is more closely connected with the union, as are the Students' Fellowship and the Co-operative College Circle. The 1390 consumers' and the 108 productive societies form a great majority of the societies of the Co-operative Union and are usually classed as industrial societies to distinguish them from the agricultural co-operative movement. Despite the disturbed conditions caused by the war and the consequent fears of the co-operative members, the movement has shown that the principle upon which it was founded has proved its strength, and the result has been a gain in adherents.

The following shows the number of retail distributive societies, members and employees and the wages paid employees:

Year	Members	Employees	Wages	No. of societies
1905 .....	2,153,185	72,712	—	1,457
1911 .....	2,640,091	90,347	£5,223,234	1,407
1914 .....	3,054,297	103,074	£6,329,967	1,390

At a congress of the co-operative organizations held in June, 1916, report was presented which showed still greater progress. The membership was increased during 1915 to 3,310,724—an increase of 122,584 new members; the business of the co-operative consumers' societies increased 15%, that of the co-operative productive societies almost 30% in one year.

### Ireland.

Since Ireland, being still overwhelmingly an agricultural nation has practically no industrial proletariat, outside two or three of the larger cities, the Socialist working class movement has so far had little chance to develop. The **Irish Independent Labor Party**, which was formed three or four years ago from two socialist unions has at present about 800 members, among whom are some of the best known and most influential union leaders. Not much older is the **Irish**

**Workingmen's Party**, the acknowledged representative of the Irish unions. This party's efforts to elect representatives to various town councils met with unexpected success. In Dublin the Workingmen's Party has elected seven of the eighty representatives; it also has six town representatives in Sligo, four in Wexford, and three in Waterford. While these working-class parties did not, officially, take part in the rising of 1916, some of their ablest leaders, Connolly, Skeffington, and others were executed for participation in the rebellion.

The **Irish Trade Union Congress**, the central organization of the Irish trade unions, was founded in 1894. Its affiliated bodies number between 60 and 70, and include a number of definitely Irish trade unions and trades councils, together with Irish sections of trade unions with headquarters in Great Britain. The Congress discusses general industrial and legislative measures. In 1913 it was decided to organize a distinct Irish Labor Party to deal with the political organization of Ireland in view of the expected Irish Parliament. The outbreak of the war and the postponement of Home Rule has prevented this plan from being carried out. The strongest of the Irish labor unions, the Transport Workers Federation which conducted the memorable transport workers general strike in Ireland, was founded by James Larkin, who has become one of the most powerful figures in the Irish labor movement. Larkin has been, for more than a year, in the United States.

**The Labor Party**, 1, Victoria Street, London, S. W.

**Independent Labor Party**, St. Budes House, Fleet Street, London, E. C.

**Socialist Party of Great Britain**, 193, Gray's Inn Road, London, W. C.

**Socialist Labor Party**, 50, Renfreu Street, Glasgow.

**The Fabian Society**, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S. W.

**British Socialist Party**, Chandos Hall, 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, London, W. C.

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In the coming age of complete industrial organization international boundary lines will cease to be even imaginary.

## GREECE.

Constitutional monarchy; Chamber of deputies, elected by restricted manhood suffrage.

Greece, in the last decade, has seen rapid growth in the Socialist movement, from a very weak and ineffective beginning. As early as 1885 there were attempts at Socialist organization by Dr. Drakoules, a Greek who had been brought up in Paris. In 1893 4,000 Socialist votes were polled in Athens. In 1901 Dr. Drakoules was elected to Parliament, where he was active during two terms of the Legislature. In 1904, Socialist votes numbered 7,800, in 1910 34,000, in 1912 28,000 and in 1914 12,000. Since the government in power can always materially influence the outcome of each election, mere figures can hardly give a correct impression of the Greek movement.

The agitation of Dr. Drakoules has not succeeded in creating a really proletarian movement, but a kind of nationalist democratic reform party. It is not surprising, therefore, that the demagogue Venizelos easily succeeded in capturing a large part of the Drakoules **Socialist Party** for his Greater-Balkan plan, which bore a certain resemblance to the Balkan Federation advocated by the Socialists. It was this section of the Socialist movement which declared with Venizelos for participation in the war on the side of the Allies and again at the bidding of Venizelos—declined to take part in the 1915 election. Drakoules was expelled from his own party in July, 1915, because he directly agitated for war. The **Labor Federation**, the smaller Socialist Party which had its seat in Salonika, adopted a strictly anti-militaristic international attitude and agitated energetically for the preservation of Greek neutrality. This Party, which has joined the Inter-Balkan Socialist Federation and the Zimmerwald Conferences, sent a communication to the Convention of the Bulgarian "Narrow" Socialist Party in August, 1915, in which it severely censured the imperialistic plans of Germany, England and Russia, for acquiring power in the Balkan states. This letter unloosed the persecution of the Greek government upon the young party, and thereby made its cause still more popular.

The Socialist Party publishes a weekly bulletin. The Labor Federation has no regularly published organ.



The labor union movement of Greece is concentrated in the Labor Federation of Athens and Piraeus with which are affiliated 17 industries. Besides these are a number of so-called yellow unions, as well as a third, Socialist group, to which, on January 1st, 1916, belonged 37 unions, mostly local in character.

The addresses are:

Socialist Party, 40 Rue du Pirée, Athens.

Labor Federation, P. Dimitratos, Salonika.

## HOLLAND.

Constitutional monarchy; First Chamber: 50 members elected for nine years by the provincial States from amongst the most highly assessed inhabitants; Second Chamber: 100 members, elected by all male citizens not under 25 years, who are either householders or pay one or more direct taxes. Elected for four years.

Holland has shown a rapid development in the direction of the modern industrial state, and at the same time a strong growth within the Socialist and Labor movements.

The Social Democratic Labor Party was founded in 1894. The following will give an idea of its growth:

1897....	13,000 votes,	3 Rep.	1905....	65,743 votes,	7 Rep.
1901....	38,279 votes,	8 Rep.	1913....	144,000 votes,	19 Rep.

In 1913 the S. D. L. P. comprised 373 branches, with a membership of 15,667. *Het Volk*, the only daily paper of the party, had a circulation of 28,000 in 1912, the Socialist Woman's organ, a circulation of 5,500. There are also 27 weekly papers. The Party had 2,047 women members. In 1912, 767,050 leaflets and pamphlets were issued. The Young Socialist movement of Holland is as yet very weak. There were only 18 circles with a small membership.

The provincial states elected 52 Socialist representatives; 247 Socialists were elected to municipal assemblies. A number of mayors were elected, some of them in large cities. In the upper House the Party has two representatives. One of these is van Kol.

After the election of 1913 resulted in a majority of 55 Liberals and Socialists, the Democratic-Liberal deputy, Dr. Bos, who was entrusted with the formation of a Coalition Ministry, offered the Socialist Party three seats, promising that the new Ministry would at once plan for a constitutional revision providing for general and equal suffrage. The Party Executive decided against the participation of Socialist Party deputies in the ministry, but called a special Party convention to Zwolle, where Troelstra presented a resolution by the majority of the Executive Committee, which favored participation in the ministry, should it prove necessary in order to

secure universal suffrage and old age pension laws. This resolution was voted down. Another resolution was adopted, by 375 against 320 votes, to the effect that "a party like the Socialist Labor Party, which in its origin, its nature and its aims, is diametrically opposed to the political domination of the capitalist class, is under no obligation to join a capitalist ministry. The S. L. P. has, under the circumstances, done its full duty in the struggle for universal suffrage and old age pension laws by its promise to support any government, which shall provide for the establishment of these reforms."

When war seemed inevitable, Troelstra announced in the Chamber of Deputies in the name of the Social Democratic representatives, that they would vote the funds necessary for the mobilization of the Dutch forces because they realized that only by so doing, could the neutrality of Holland be assured. At the same time he emphasized the unalterable purpose of the Party, to oppose, with every means in its power, any aggressive participation in the war. On August 26, Troelstra made a further announcement in the Lower House, expressing the desire of the Social Democracy, that the Peace conditions "shall expressly guarantee the independence of the nations of Europe," although the S. D. L. P. recognizes that "no lasting peace is possible, that only by the formation of an International of Labor of the free people of Europe can all capitalistic struggles for power and profit cease, and all wars be made impossible."

In addition to the S. D. L. P. Holland has had since 1909, a **Social Democratic Party**, which to-day counts over 600 members. Its official organ is *The Tribune*. This party, which sent representatives to the Zimmerwald Conferences, claims that "it alone represents the Marxian principles which were, at one-time, supported by the S. D. L. P., which has, however, completely abandoned them." To this party belong prominent Socialist writers, who have helped to influence the general Socialist movement in Holland.

The labor movement is badly split up. Besides the **Federation of Trade Unions**, which was founded by the S. D. L. P. and which sympathises with its general attitude, there are **Protestant, Catholic** and so-called **Independent**—in reality anarchistically inspired—unions, which work in active opposition to each other. The relative strength of these unions is as follows:

Year	Protestant	Catholic	Free and Independent	Total
1910 .....	11,014	22,924	109,912	143,850
1911 .....	12,575	23,480	117,634	153,689
1912 .....	13,090	25,758	130,296	169,144
1913 .....	12,425	30,769	145,836	189,030
1914 .....	14,812	37,498	167,965	220,275

The organizations affiliated with the Federation of Trade Unions are constantly increasing in membership. On August 1, 1914, they reported a membership of 90,000, on July 1, 1915, a membership of 91,433.

Holland suffered so severely from unemployment when the war first broke out, that a special Trade Union Congress was held on November 8 and 9, 1915. These figures indicate the extent of unemployment in Holland at the time:

The diamond cutters, one of the best organized trades, suffered particularly. In the last two years from 50 to 90% of its members were always unemployed. Their organization alone, paid over 1,000,000 gulden unemployment benefit.

Social legislation in Holland is as yet backward. The compulsory invalid and old age pension system of 1913, and municipal unemployment insurance, fashioned after the so-called Ghent System, are noteworthy exceptions. The latter comprises an allowance of 100 per cent. added by the municipalities to the sum set aside by the trade unions, which averages 3 gulden a week. Only 30 municipalities, however, have thus far co-operated in this. The system is administered by the "Unemployed Council" under the auspices of the government, the trade union being represented. At the outbreak of the war, the government made the following provisions in regard to unemployment: the trade unions funds to pay benefits to all members, and municipal unemployment funds to grant an additional 100 per cent. If the trade union fund goes down to 25 per cent. of the capital owned on August 1, 1914, the State and municipality will take over the paying out instead. If the expenses incurred by the municipal fund exceed the amount provided in the municipal estimates by 75 per cent., the state refunds half the sum. The allowance is not to exceed 5 or 6 gulden a week for a married man or breadwinner. Others, above 20, receive 4 or 5 gulden; those between 18 and 20 from 2 to 2½ gulden.

About 50 per cent. of all organized workers are insured in this way against unemployment.

The Secretary of the Social Democratic Labor Party is G. G. van Kuyhof, 16 de Genestetsstraat, Amsterdam.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is J. Oudegeest, Reguliersgracht 80, Amsterdam.

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Professor E. R. A. Seligman, in "Principles of Economics," p. 136.

"The Socialist asks for the abolition of private property in the means of production while retaining it in articles of consumption."

## HUNGARY.

The Hungarian Parliament is composed of two Houses, the Upper House of Magnates and the Lower House of Representatives. The House of Magnates is composed of hereditary and life peers, including ecclesiastical and State dignitaries and has about 300 members. The House of Representatives (Reichstag) consists of 453 members, elected for five years on a property qualification franchise by male citizens over 30 years of age. Members each receive \$6,500 per annum.

In this "free" nation, controlled by "Liberals," the laws governing organization and assembly are so reactionary that it has been impossible to create a Socialist organization. The labor union members who desire to support a Socialist movement pay their Socialist dues into a special sub-organization of their trade union. Thus the labor unions, are the backbone of the **Socialist Party**, because without their assistance even the most elementary organization would be an impossibility. It is, of course, difficult to determine the party membership for this reason. In 1914, there were 61,300 members, against 59,623 in 1913, and 52,738 in 1912. In 1913 there were 111,966 labor unionists; in 1914 their number had increased to 134,600.

The vote, in Hungary, is confined to the propertied classes, and is divided between the great feudal landowners and the liberal bourgeoisie. The farmworker is absolutely and the industrial working class almost wholly without political rights. Thus the Social Democracy, with 136 representatives in municipal offices, polled a vote of only 85,000 at the last national election, and was unable to send a representative to Parliament. But the reactionary character of Hungarian political conditions does not mean that revolutionary activity is impossible. The party has for over ten years fought with admirable vigor and tireless energy for greater political freedom. In fact it was due to its frequent public demonstrations and protest meetings that the Tisza Administration finally in 1914 consented to consider a so-called election reform, which was, however, anything but a real improvement. According to the new election laws, in the city every man who is over thirty years of age, can read and write, and fulfill a number of other exceedingly complicated conditions fixed by the provisions of the new election laws, shall have the right to vote. In Budapest, with over 100,000 workers past thirty years of age, hardly 40,000 are eligible to vote. The labor vote, therefore, is but an unimportant factor in Hungarian politics. So far there has been no election under this apology for election reform.

Hungary also has its nationalistic question, though it has not lead to the fierce conflict that arose in Austria. The Hungarians (Magyars), although they are not in the majority among the other races of Hungary, maintain a privileged

position, which has embittered the Germans, the Slavonians and the Roumanians and has led them to organize as national entities.

The attitude of the Hungarian Social-Democracy towards the war could not be brought officially before the people, as there is no Socialist in the Reichstag, and the censors suppress all unpalatable criticism of the government. The press and the carefully worded publications of the party executive show that the party is in sympathy neither with the majority in Austria or in Germany nor with the majority in the allied nations. At any rate there has been no sign of "harmonious co-operation" on the part of the party and labor union forces with the reactionary "liberal" government.

The Hungarian party press includes one Hungarian central organ, a daily paper called *Nepszava*, the weekly German organ, *Volksstimme*, one Roumanian, one Serbian and one Slovak organ and a number of local newspapers in Kassa, Pecs, Temeswar, Pozsony, and Fiume (Italian). The scientific socialist organ *Socialismus* is published monthly.

In 1913 the party consisted of 66 party-labor union organizations in Budapest and 234 in the rest of the country. The Hungarian Woman's and Young People movements have shown a gratifying development in recent years, not only in industrial sections, but also among the agrarian proletariat. The labor union movement is, considering the comparatively undeveloped industrial state of the nation, very good. In 1909 there were 85,266 members; on January 1, 1914, their number had increased to 134,600 (110,300 men\* and 24,300 women). The number of organized women rose much more rapidly than that of the men. The growth of the labor union movement is shown by the following:

Year	Members	Year	Members
1901 .....	9,999	1908 .....	102,054
1902 .....	15,270	1909 .....	85,266
1903 .....	41,188	1910 .....	101,657
1904 .....	53,169	1911 .....	110,432
1905 .....	71,173	1912 .....	106,570
1906 .....	129,332	1913 .....	111,966
1907 .....	130,332	1914 .....	134,600

The marked loss in membership in 1909 and the slow growth since that year are attributed to a severe industrial crisis and to a period of exceptionally brutal persecution of labor unions and Socialists. The organization of the agrarian workers was particularly promising. They were not permitted to organize until 1906 when they began with 13,814 members, which had increased to 48,616 members in 1907. Then, because extensive strikes were threatened among the farm-



workers the government at the urgent request of the feudal landholders so actively persecuted these organizations that they have almost gone out of existence.

The co-operative movement in Hungary has developed rapidly during the last decade. Large co-operative societies in the country as well as in the city, and also a few co-operative manufacturing concerns are preparing the way with ever increasing success for the future.

The Secretary of the Hungarian Social Democratic Labor Party is E. Buchenberger, Conti-utca 4 Budapest viii.

The Secretary of the Ungarlaendischer Gewerkschaftsrat is: Samu Jaszai, Conti-utca 4, Budapest viii.

### ITALY.

Constitutional monarchy; senate and chamber of deputies. Senate consists of persons who have attained high office or dignity in the public service, or distinction in art, science or letters, or who pay at least \$600 a year in taxes; nominated for life by King on recommendation of Ministry. At present 400 members; number unlimited. Chamber of Deputies: consists of 508 members, one to every 71,000 population. Suffrage granted to every man 21 years old, but is denied to those younger than 30 who have neither done their military service nor learnt to read and write. Deputies receive \$400 a year. At last election (October 1913) the Chamber of Deputies consisted of 318 Constitutionalists, 70 Radicals, 16 Republicans, 77 Socialists, 3 Syndicalists and 24 Catholics.

The Socialist Party of Italy has since the first day of the war been practically unanimous in opposing all intervention and participation in the world war. It severely criticized the attitude of the German Social-Democracy and emphatically condemned the Austrian Party because it supported the "Burgfrieden" doctrine—without even the excuse of a representative Parliament. But it was no less emphatic in its opposition to the French and English Socialists, who supported the war. The Italian Party immediately and unanimously joined the movement to reunite the international forces of the Socialist movement. It was the only large Party which signed and supported the decisions of the first Zimmerwald Conference.

When in 1912 the official party organization opposed the Tripoli adventure, Bissolati, one of the cleverest Socialist speakers in Parliament, and Podrecca, the editor of the influential humorous paper *L'Asino*, with two other representatives, openly favored the governmental policy and were, in consequence, expelled from the Party by its Congress in July, 1912. The Party now faced a severe crisis. Of 38 deputies, 16 joined the Reformist Party, which, though it has since gained considerably in membership and Parliamentary influence, has not grown nearly as fast as the Socialist Party,

which to-day is more united and more powerful than ever before. The Reformist Party, in the Ministerial reorganization in May, 1916, succeeded in placing Bissolati and three other members in the Cabinet, where they were the wildest and the most ardent supporters of Italian intervention.

The Party suffered for years from internal strife and differences on questions of principle and tactics, which explains the slow growth of its organization. The differences were not of a purely political nature. The struggle between the Trade Unionist and the Syndicalists in the labor movement, had an important influence upon the Party. The following shows the increase in Party membership:

1900 .....	19,000	1912 .....	25,000
1902 .....	37,000	1913 .....	37,000
1904 .....	45,000	1914 .....	42,000
1908 .....	40,000	1915 .....	49,000
1910 .....	30,000		

The election returns were as follows:

	Representa- Votes. tives.	
1892—26,000	6	
1900—175,000	32	(Fusion with the bourgeois Radicals)
1904—320,000	27	
1909—339,000	40	
1913—960,000	59	

In 1913 the Reformists polled 200,000 votes for their candidates, and elected 21 representatives. There had been 29 Socialist deputies in the Chamber after the Reformists broke away from the Party.

The Industrial Movement is divided into two distinct groups, one, the so-called Reformist group; the other, the Syndicalist organizations. Each of these groups possesses its own central organization. The **Confederazione Generale di Lavoro** is the older federation. It stands in close touch with the Socialist Party, and indorses its war-position, while the **Unione Sindicale**, an organization patterned after the French General Confederation of Labor, condemns all political action and sees in the general strike the chief weapon of the working-class. Like the French organization, also, it stands for intervention and for "Burgfrieden." The **Confederazione Generale di Lavoro** counted 321,000 members in 1912, after it had lost 63,000 members through the railway-workers' organization joining the Syndicalist centre-organization. Since then, however, there has been a marked upward growth. In 1914, 420,000 members were enrolled under its banner, while the **Unione Sindicale** numbered only 120,000.

The movement of the farmhands is an important factor in the life of the Italian labor movement. They are organized as the National Federation of Rural Workers and number over 165,000 members. Italy still has over ten million farm workers, against five million industrial workers.

Since the war began, there has been an extraordinary decrease in the number of emigrants. In 1914, 245,897 persons left Italy for European, and 233,144 for American countries. In 1913 they numbered 313,132 and 559,566 respectively. The number of emigrants was reduced by more than one half in the first half year of the war. Sicily, Venice and Lombardy furnish the greatest number of emigrants.

The Secretary of the Socialist Party of Italy is: C. Lazari, Via Del Seminario 87, Rome.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is R. Rigola, Via Manfredo Fanti 2, Milano.

## NORWAY.

Constitutional monarchy; government by one house only. Storting consists of 123 members who are elected by universal suffrage. Since 1913 men and women over 25 years of age eligible to vote. In 1916, women were granted suffrage.

Norway is one of the most democratic countries of the world. The King, the present ruler, who was elected by the people, is hardly more than a mouthpiece of the popular will, as expressed by the Parliament.

The **Social-Democratic Party** was founded in 1887 and participated in an election for the first time in 1894 when it polled 732 votes. On May 1, 1915, it reported 53,800 members, 36,500 of these living in the cities, 17,300 in the country districts. The increase in the vote is shown by the following Parliamentary election returns:

Votes		Repre- sentatives	Votes		representatives
					Repre-
1894.....	732	—	1906.....	43,100	10
1897.....	947	—	1909.....	91,268	11
1900.....	7,013	—	1912.....	120,077	23
1903.....	24,526	4	1915.....	196,000	29

The Party lost representatives in the last election, although its vote was increased by 70,000. Of these 25,000 were women, voting for the first time; the remainder, however, represents a true gain. Although the Socialist vote is one third of the total vote cast, the Party is the second largest party in the Storting. It has relatively fewer elected representatives because the farming population elects two thirds of the representatives. In spite of the middle class

character of Norway, which in turns colors somewhat the point of view of the Norwegian Socialist Party, the Congress held in the spring of 1915 took a decided stand against war and militarism. The Storthing group had voted in favor of the government measures for the preservation of Norwegian neutrality, and had incurred the criticism of the young people's movement and other sections of the party. These attacks became so violent at the Party convention, that the Storthing group announced its intention of resigning in a body, should there be a vote of censure. With eight dissenting votes, a motion was passed, declaring that the Party was unalterably opposed to the so-called armed neutrality, that it was opposed to every kind of military armament and preparedness, and therefore must reject all measures undertaken in this direction. The resolution, however, did not condemn the action of the Storthing group. The Party crisis was thus bridged over, while the standpoint of the Party was fixed more definitely and clearly than before. The following military program was adopted by the Party with only three dissenting votes: Disarmament, permanent neutrality, absolute and obligatory submission to an International Tribunal of Arbitration. In order to give more potent expression to its anti-militaristic policy, the national conference which met in Christiania in 1916, instructed the Executive Committee of the Party to establish the most intimate connections with the Zimmerwald International Conference, without, however, losing touch with the International Socialist Bureau at the Hague. The Party Executive Committee had previously declined to indorse the Zimmerwald Conference, and only the Young Socialist movement had joined it from the start.

The Norwegian Party is represented in a large number of municipal governments. In Christiania, the Norwegian capital, 29 of the 84 municipal legislators are Socialists. The Party controls 8 daily newspapers, 19 weeklies, which have an aggregate circulation of 128,600. The leading organ is the *Social-demokraten* published in Christiania, with a circulation of 31,000. The Party owns its own press and news bureau, which furnishes daily news, editorials and correspondences for the party press. The party literature and publishing departments print and sell all party literature. For the last 7 years the party in Christiania has conducted a Socialist evening 'school' where German and Norwegian literature and history, arithmetic, bookkeeping and political economy are taught. One hundred and twenty-two Labor Lyceums (25 in cities and 97 in country districts) belong either to the Party, to the labor unions, or to the co-operative societies—in some cases to all of them.

The **Woman's Federation** of the Norwegian Labor Party in 1905 had about 2,600 members in 61 branches. Of these 11 were labor union organizations. The Storting has as yet no women members, as there has been no election since the women have become eligible for membership. There are, however, 27 women in rural town governments and 47 women in municipal legislative bodies and their number is steadily and rapidly growing.

The **Young People's movement** has grown considerably in recent years. It now has 6,000 members, publishes a weekly organ *Klassenkampen* (Class struggle) and has a strong radical influence upon the Party.

The **Labor Union Movement** of Norway, as in the other Scandinavian countries, is closely allied with the political working-class movement. All unions are class-conscious, and in consequence consider the Socialist Party their true political representative. The **General Confederation**, in January, 1916, had 70,408 members. Of these 17,876 belonged to the general labor unions, 14,376 to the metal workers, while the paper industry workers stand third with a membership of 6,031. Norway has altogether about 230,000 industrial workers, so that more than 28 per cent are industrially organized. In view of the undeveloped character of the Norwegian industries this is an exceedingly good percentage. The following tables show the development of the labor union movement, its effectiveness and power:

Year	Membership	Income (in crowns)	Expenses
1910 .....	45,940	1,250,702.83	984,107.89
1911 .....	53,115	1,938,868.39	1,963,445.10
1912 .....	60,829	2,002,313.85	1,611,774.24
1913 .....	63,812	2,004,303.85	1,697,074.32

In March, 1914, a special congress of labor unions was held, to oppose an attempt of the government to make striking illegal and to introduce obligatory arbitration boards, by a general strike. When the proposed bill was brought before the Storting in May, a general strike was ordered for May 6th, which lasted until May 11, when the bill was withdrawn. This, however, did not prevent the government a few months later, from again attempting to introduce a similar bill—without success. Later the government brought in a bill, which provided for the settling of labor disputes by arbitration boards. This bill, though not quite as severe as the first one, was also opposed by the Socialist Party, but was finally adopted by Parliament. This law contains a number of effective repressive measures. All workers employed in public industries must give 14 days notice before laying down their work: furthermore, the organization may be held responsible for the failure of any of its members to



comply with the contract, through illegal strikes or lockouts. The public arbitration commission has the power to prohibit strikes and lockouts, so long as there seems a possibility of arbitration.

In July, 1916, in the midst of tremendous conflicts between capital and labor the government under the direction of the employers, forced the passage of a bill providing for obligatory arbitration boards. After all parties, with the exception of the Social-Democratic Party, had declared themselves in favor of the bill, the labor unions, in accordance with the decision of the labor congress held two years before, declared a general strike. Although 120,000 persons answered the call, the law was passed, in spite of this protest of organized labor, and after eight days the strike was called off.

The **Norwegian Co-operative movement** is of very recent date. In 1913, 136 co-operative societies with 30,000 members doing a business of 2,437,066 Crowns were in existence. There are also two co-operative manufacturing undertakings, one for the production of oleomargarine and a tobacco factory.

**Socialist Party, Folkets Hus, Christiania.**

**Labor Federation, Youngsgaten 13, Christiania.**

## POLAND.

The Socialist movement in Russian Poland is older than that of Russia. It originated in the other sections of the former Polish Kingdom, as for instance Cracow and Lemberg, where Socialist thought has always been an influence in the national revolutionary movement. This is probably the reason why Polish socialism is more nationalistic in character than the proletarian movement among any of the other oppressed nations.

Russian Poland has three Socialist parties, two of which, the Social Democracy of Russian Poland and Lithuania and the radical wing of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) are parts of the general Russian movement, and as such work for the Russian Revolution, and regard the national liberation of Poland only as an episode in their struggle. The third, the larger part of the P. P. S. is closely allied with the Austrian P. P. S., which supported the famous Polish Legion, and sees in the victory of the Teuton nations the fulfillment of its nationalist ideals. The split in the P. P. S., more than ten years ago, was caused by the fact that the supporters of the old (nationalist) liberation program desired to create a revolutionary organization to conduct guerilla warfare against the Czar's government. They organized raids upon government institutions and in the course of these "confiscations" killed

a number of soldiers, thus providing sufficient excuse for counter-revolutionary agitation. The whole P. P. S. was responsible for these tactics, for, until 1906, at the ninth Party Congress, the central committee and the central organ, which were in possession of the present radical wing, supported these tactics, and defended them against the attacks of the Social Democracy. But when the political mass movement of the whole Russian proletariat, whose greatest period had been co-incident with the nationalist efforts above described, subsided, it became clear that these attacks upon the Russian governmental strongholds were not a part of the proletarian revolutionary struggle. Then came the clash within the P. P. S. and its subsequent division.

In an election conducted under regulations made by the Germans in Warsaw in June, 1916, the nationalist wing of the P. P. S. was one of the officially recognized parties. It polled 5,916 votes and secured 2 seats in the municipal council, while the Social Democracy, which was bitterly opposed by the German occupants and the P. P. S. (opposition), polled 2,631 and 3,711 votes respectively, and each elected one representative.

There is hardly a sign of a labor organization in Poland at the present time. But in Warsaw and Lodz and in a number of other industrial cities, renewed attempts are being made towards industrial organization. In Warsaw, in January, 1916, a labor union federation was created consisting of metal workers, bricklayers, painters, tailors and seamstresses. An employment bureau was opened and educational work was begun. At present there are in Warsaw 9 labor unions that recognize the modern, independent labor movement. The conditions under which they must work are exceedingly unfavorable; the need and suffering of the working-class is terrible. Industry has almost completely stopped in Warsaw and Lodz and in most of the other industrial centers.

## PORTUGAL.

Republic; Congress of two houses, both chosen by direct vote of all men able to read and write; limited minority representation; President chosen by Congress.

Portugal has long been one of the most unprogressive countries in Europe, with corrupt and arbitrary government, miserable poverty and ignorance (83% illiterate in 1909), no religious liberty, and little industrial enterprise.

A Socialist party was formed in 1876, under the influence of Lafargue and other Spanish Internationalists. For forty years it barely maintained an existence, enduring violent persecution and struggling with Anarchist tendencies fostered by backward economic and political conditions. Since

the overthrow of the monarchy in October, 1910, the separation of church and state in 1911, and the resultant economic and intellectual awakening, it has made better progress. There is one Socialist in Congress, Manoel Jose da Silva, a printer, from Oporto. The party had about 1,000 members in the fall of 1910, but grew to 3,300 by the summer of 1913. In that year it won many seats in city councils.

**Labor organization** is confined to a few localities and has been under Anarchist leadership. Of late, however, the unions are beginning to grow and to show socialistic tendencies. Their first general congress was held in 1914.

The rise of food prices and disturbance of trade resulting from the war has provoked numerous strikes and hunger riots in Lisbon and elsewhere, which have been suppressed by military force.

The sixth national congress of the party, in the fall of 1915, approved the Zimmerwald resolutions and elected Nogueira and Silva as members of the International Socialist Bureau and Antonio Francisco Pereira as editor of the party organ, "O Combate." The next congress is to be at Coimbra in 1917.

Its secretary is Cesar Nogueira, rua do Bemformoso 150, Lisbon.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is Francisco dos Santos, Rue do Laranjal 83, Porto.

## ROUMANIA.

Constitutional monarchy; two houses of Parliament: Senate and Chamber of Deputies; Senate, 120 members elected for eight years; Chamber of Deputies, 173 members elected for four years. Members of both Houses receive \$4.00 for each day of attendance. Franchise is a three-class indirect system, reactionary and plutocratic.

The task of the modern labor movement in Roumania is a difficult one. Seventy-five per cent of the Roumanian people are illiterates. The population, chiefly farmers, are absolutely dominated by a feudalistic form of government. Here is a country in which medieval serfdom existed until 1864, and in which 59 per cent of the soil is still held by 4,000 landowners. The remaining 41 per cent is held by a million peasant proprietors, who are without capital and live under the most wretched conditions. They express themselves politically in the form of Jacqueries, so terrible that it is difficult to say which is the more ferocious, the revolt itself or the repression. The Socialist movement is now regarded with suspicion in working-class circles, because of unhappy mistakes made in the first stages of the movement. This makes the work of the Party, which was founded in

1910, still more difficult. In the 90's there was organized in Roumania a Socialist Party whose leaders were exclusively students, lawyers, doctors and other professionals and who had been educated in the universities of Western Europe. These ambitious gentlemen, whose Socialistic views were at best cloudy and confused, suddenly in 1899 left the Socialist movement, which did not progress fast enough to fulfill their expectations, and joined the Liberal Party. Here they became members of the Ministry and other high office-holders and made splendid careers. Even to-day the majority of the leading men of Roumania are former Socialists. The effect on the Socialist movement itself was that it became too weak to come before the public and thus degenerated into a number of study classes.

It is due to the splendid work of Dr. C. Rakowsky that there is in Roumania to-day a proletarian Socialist movement. He and C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, a famous writer and economist, took the movement in hand and succeeded in reorganizing and building up the remnants of the first unfortunate venture. They founded Socialist clubs all over the country; published the first Socialist newspaper, *Romania Municitoare*, in Bucharest and arranged for a national convention, which resulted in a loose organization of the existing Socialist forces. The new movement, even before it became a political party, went through a severe crisis. The farmers' revolt of 1907 was followed by a period of governmental persecution. All clubs were dissolved, their money confiscated and about a thousand Jewish Socialists—four-fifths of the 289,000 Roumanian Jews are proletarians—were banished from the country as foreigners. Particular efforts were made to banish Rakowsky, who was also denounced as a foreigner. Several years passed, before he was permitted to prove, in court, that he was a citizen of Roumania. A still more critical period came for the Party in 1913, when the Balkan War whipped high the waves of nationalist feeling. Two influential Socialists, the lawyers Cocea and Dragu, endorsed the expansion policy of the government, although the Party itself protested emphatically against it. The former were expelled from the Party together with a number of extreme opportunists. Then began a genuine Socialistic movement in Roumania.

The Social-Democratic Party has agitated unceasingly for peace since the outbreak of the world war. It still demands the preservation of Roumanian neutrality, and is an important factor against the outbreak of war. Huge Socialist peace demonstrations were held in Bucharest, Jassy, Galatz, etc., in June, July and August, 1915; altogether 284 meetings were held attended by tens of thousands of people

and 495,920 anti-war leaflets were distributed. At a number of these meetings there were clashes with the police and soldiery; in Bucharest 40 comrades were arrested and 20 wounded.

A Party convention held on November 7-9, 1915, as the first order of business, adopted a resolution of sympathy with those comrades "who remained true to the spirit of Internationalism and have refused to make common cause with their governments." It approved the resolutions of the Zimmerwald Conference against war, for the triumph of international Socialism, and promised material and moral support to the International Socialist Agitation Committee in Berne. After these declarations had been adopted by the convention, government persecution of the Socialist press and organizations was conducted with renewed vigor.

The Party is not yet well organized. The fourth Convention reported a membership of 2,980, mostly residents of Bucharest and a few industrial centres. The Socialist vote—there were candidates nominated in seven cities only—was 1,557 in 1910 and 2,047 in 1914. Women's organizations are springing up everywhere. Electoral and especially agrarian reforms are the chief features of the party program.

The Federation of Trade Unions works in utmost harmony with the Socialist movement. In 1914 it had 14,000 members. By the first of October, 1915, this number had risen to 16,700. The waiters, metalworkers, railway workers, textile workers and woodworkers are fairly well organized. Each of these possesses a monthly publication. Public employees are prohibited from joining the Federation.

The Secretary of the Party is J. C. Frimu, Roumanian Social-Democratic Party, Strada Piatza Amzei, 261 Bucharest.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is D. Pop, Piata Amzei 26, Bucharest.

## RUSSIA.

Autocratic Monarchy. The Government is carried on by the Czar, the Council of the Empire and the Duma. The Council of the Empire consists of members appointed by the Czar on the advice of the Cabinet. The Duma consists of 383 members elected by the electoral bodies of the chief towns or governments or provinces and of the largest cities. The Czar is autocratic ruler and can override any decision of the Council of the Empire or the Duma.

Russia, with its vast territory is a mixture of modern industrial and ancient agricultural life. No Socialist movement in any nation has cost so much in human life as that of Russia; no working-class has suffered such awful persecution and oppression. In the first decades of the revolutionary



movement of the Russian proletariat many hundreds of the leaders, who then came from the educated middle class—were executed; many thousands were banished to Siberia; and even to-day, when the Social Democratic Party has become a recognized party, with its representatives in the Duma, membership in the Party is still heavily penalized. The brutal suppression makes organization and propaganda secret and secrecy produces a movement split up into many divergent groups. Only in 1910 did it become possible to unify the existing social democratic movements.

The International Socialist Congresses have recognized three entirely separate Russian labor movements: the **Social Revolutionary Party**, the **Social Democratic Labor Party** and the so-called **Group of Toil**. The last named is at best little more than a peasant party. It sprang up, just before the first Duma election, and was exceedingly successful because its semi-communist program bore a strong resemblance to the ancient Russian communism, whose traditions still have a firm hold upon the Russian peasant. It elected 104 representatives to the Duma but at the following election it lost ground and in the present, the fourth, Duma, it has but 10 representatives. The Social Revolutionary Party, which also played an important part in the first Duma elections, has also lost much of its importance, mainly because it still favors the use of terrorist means and methods, similar to those of the anarcho-syndicalist groups of Western Europe. The labor party of the greatest importance in Russian public life and thought is the Social Democratic Labor Party with its various factions and national groups.

It is difficult to determine the numerical strength of the Russian Socialist movement. The Duma elections are a certain criterion. Notwithstanding the undemocratic and anti-labor character of the complicated election laws, the Socialist groups in 1907 succeeding in electing 101, and the Group of Toil 116 representatives of the 504 in the whole Duma. Since then the election laws have become still more reactionary. Nevertheless it is beyond doubt, that the Socialists still control the majority of the industrial proletariat and that a steadily growing number of poorer middle class men and women see in the Socialist movement their only hope and are openly joining it. In six of the largest Russian cities, in each of which the workers as such have the right to elect one representative to the Duma, all six of the men elected were Socialists. To these were added in 1912 eight Socialists who were elected with the assistance of middle class votes particularly among the oppressed nations of Russia, where the more enlightened population votes for the Socialists rather than return to the Duma a representative of the Russian government. When the fourth Duma went

into session in 1912 it had a Social Democratic group of 13 men, to which was added a Polish Socialist Party representative elected in Warsaw. With the Group of Toil (10 men) it forms the extreme radical wing of the Duma.

The Socialist representatives have seized every opportunity to tell the government and the capitalist class the truth. The persecutions which were their reward, increased in severity when the outbreak of the war showed that the great majority of the Russian Social Democracy was more sharply than ever, in opposition to the government and to the Duma as a whole.

The Social Democrats in the Duma on August 8, 1914, when the first war credits were put to a vote, expressed their attitude in a declaration which assailed the government for its imperialistic policies and pledged international solidarity with the workers of the world.

After this declaration the Social Democrats left the Duma, to be followed at once by members of the Group of Toil. Neither of these parties were present when the vote was taken. Shortly after the Czar's government saw a chance for revenge, and five Social Democratic members of the Duma, Petrowsky, Muranoff, Badaeff, Samoiloff and Schagoff, were arrested on the flimsy pretext that they belonged to a secret society and for attempted rebellion. They were sent to Siberia.

The great majority of the Socialist proletariat remained opposed to war. When industrial war commissions were established, and elections were being held for the Central War Commission, the workers of Petrograd were called upon to declare by vote whether or not they desired to be represented on this commission. This election showed that not quite 35 per cent of the Petrograd workers declared themselves in favor of electing labor representatives. Of the 200 electors, who were elected by 225,000 votes, 91 refused to vote, so that the election could not be held, and the war commissions remained without labor representatives. Great strikes broke out in all parts of the country, particularly in Petrograd, Moscow and in the Caucasus, some of which are still unsettled. They have been particularly frequent in ammunition works.

The Socialist Press is limited to *Nasch Golos* (Our Voice) which is published in Samara, and belongs to the so-called Minority group of the Social Democratic Labor Party. A paper founded in Petrograd by the Majority group, the *Utro*, was forbidden after the first weeks of its publication.

Besides the main organization of the S. D. L. P. there are large national groups which also belong to this party: the Lettish and the Lithuanian S. D. L. P. and the Jewish

"Bund," all without exception in favor of the stand taken by the Social Democratic group in the Duma. These organizations are strong and possess great influence in their own national territories.

The Zimmerwald Conference was indorsed by the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Labor Party, by the Organization Committee of the Party, by the Social Revolutionary Party, by the General Jewish Labor Federation in Lithuania, Poland and Russia and by the three Polish Socialist Parties.

The Russian labor union movement has as yet no central organization. It was computed during the 1905 revolution that there were about 652 unions with an approximate membership of 246,000. In 1910 the number of unions was officially reported as 750. In 1912, the factory inspectors reported that 2,032 strikes had occurred in that year, involving 725,491 workers. Of these 1,300 strikes involving 500,000 workers were political in character. The labor union movement, in so far as the unions are not of the "yellow" category, is the victim of merciless persecutions by the government, and countless organizations and trade unions are every year sacrificed by the local satraps. Thousands of unionists are arrested or thrown out upon the streets; the activity of the labor unions reduced to a minimum and robbed of the right to strike. New labor unions are rarely, in some places never, registered, that is, permitted. Nevertheless the unions have taken root and will grow as soon as political oppression has been removed.

On August 18, 1914, a Co-operative Committee was formed in Petrograd to give to the existing co-operative organizations its full measure of usefulness during the war. In December, 1915, the committee was dissolved by the police, who declared that the Committee had used illegal and rebellious methods.

Secretary of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia: Kouznetzoff, 102 Rue Babillot, Paris (France).

The Secretary of the Social Revolutionary Party: E. Roubanovitch, 238 Boulevard Raspail, Paris (France).

## SERBIA.

Constitutional monarchy; legislative authority vested in King with National Assembly (Skupchina) Parliament consists of 166 Deputies; Restricted manhood suffrage.

The labor movement in Serbia is weak because of the country's industrially undeveloped condition, and especially because efforts toward organizing the agrarian proletariat have failed. Nevertheless, the Serbian Social Democracy, like all other Social-Democracies in the Balkan States, per-

sisted, before and after the outbreak of the war, in their anti-militaristic attitude, and refused to swerve a hairs-breadth, from the principles of the International.

The Social Democratic Labor Party of Serbia took an active part in national elections for the first time in 1904, when it polled a vote of 2,508. In 1907 this increased to 3,133, in 1910 to 9,000, in 1912 to 25,000, and in 1914 to 30,000. In 1912 the comrades Laptchevitch and Kazlerovitch were elected to the national parliament. Laptchevitch delivered a speech before the Skuptchina on October 12, 1912, which caused a great stir on account of his protest against any jealousy between the States of a Balkan federation built upon a progressive and democratic basis. When in May, 1913, the Serbian Prime Minister Paschitch delivered an incendiary speech against Bulgaria, it was the Serbian Social Democracy that entered a strong protest, and presented a plan, complete to the minutest detail, for the creation of a Balkan Federation. In May, 1914, shortly after the end of the second Balkan war, the National Convention of the Serbian Social Democratic Labor Party was held in Belgrad and a resolution was unanimously passed, in the presence of delegates sent by the Bulgarian S. D. P., favoring peaceable co-operation between Serbia and Bulgaria. The Bulgarian comrade Sakasoff had received a splendid welcome. When the great war broke out in August, 1914, the two Socialists in the Serbian Assembly voted against the war and against war budgets. Laptchevitch declared that the blame for the outbreak of the war lay with the capitalists of all nations on one hand and on the other with the government of Serbia, which had tolerated the intrigues of Black Hand organizations like the Narodna Obrana. This speech as well as the vote of the Socialist representatives led to furious attacks by all parties, while the Socialists became subject to bitter persecution by the government.

The war has completely destroyed the political as well as the industrial labor movement. The most prominent Serbian theorist, a deep thinker and great scientist, Tuzowitch, has fallen. The party newspapers have closed down one by one, after countless confiscations and prohibitions. The last paper to cease publication was the official Socialist daily, *Radnicke Novine*. Party branches and labor unions have been dissolved and destroyed. Splendid work was done by six members of the Belgrad city council, with the Party secretaries Luka Pavitshcevitich and Milan Dragowitsch at their head, in forcing the Belgrad municipal government to provide from the public funds for 25,000 people who had been caught in the Serbian capital,—most of them completely penniless. Small as are the resources of Belgrad, it is gen-

erally conceded that only the systematic work of these comrades preserved the Belgrad proletariat from starvation.

The **labor union movement**, Socialist and class-conscious throughout, had on July 1, 1914, 14,300 members, organized in 9 industrial Federations and a number of locally organized unions. The central organization is known as the General Federation.

There had been an exceedingly active strike movement in 1913, which had contributed materially to the growth and development of the economic movement of the Serbian working-class.

The Serbian Social-Democratic Labor Party has joined the Zimmerwald conferences, has endorsed their declarations and was represented at both meetings by delegates.

The Secretary of the S. D. L. P. is D. Papovitch, Servian Social-Democratic Labor Party, Belgrad.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is P. Pawlowitsch, Radnicke Novine, Belgrad.

## SPAIN.

Constitutional monarchy. Parliament (Cortes) of two houses—Congress of Deputies, chosen by popular vote, and Senate, part hereditary, part ex officio, part appointed, part indirectly elected.

Compared with France or Italy, Spain is a backward country. Less than half the people over the age of ten can read. Industry is but little developed. The liberties guaranteed in the constitution are largely illusory, the government being able to control elections to a great extent. Of late there has been progress, a feature of which is the movement for popular self-education launched by the freethinker Francisco Ferrer, who was executed under martial law in 1909.

The working-class movement is practically confined to Madrid, the mining and metal-working region of the north coast, and the commercial and industrial region around Barcelona, where it is complicated with Catalanian nationalism.

Sections of the International were formed in Spain in 1868, but soon fell under the influence of Bakunist Anarchism. Paul Lafargue, Francisco Mora, and a few others upheld the Marxian idea, and in 1879 formed the **Socialist Labor Party**. Among its founders was a young printer, Pablo Iglesias, who is still its foremost leader.

The party first nominated candidates in 1891, polling 5,000 votes. Its strength grew to 14,000 in 1896, to 26,000 in 1904, and fell to 23,000 in 1907. In 1910 for the first time it formed a coalition with the Republicans. Iglesias was elected in Madrid, with 40,000 votes, more than half of them



Socialist. In 1916 he was re-elected. The party has representatives in more than forty municipal councils.

In 1913 the party had about 12,000 members, and in the fall of 1915 it had 14,332. "El Socialista," published in Madrid, is the central organ, and there are several other weekly papers.

In the beginning, the party took a clear stand in favor of neutrality. Its papers were prosecuted for printing articles against war, militarism, and imperialism, and an attempt to hold a congress to emphasize its views was forbidden by the authorities. More recently, influenced by sympathy with the French Socialists, and perhaps by reaction against Germanophil tendencies in the bourgeoisie, leading elements in the party at Madrid and elsewhere, including Iglesias, have rather decidedly taken the side of the Allies, some even advocating participation in the war. It appears that the bulk of the organized working people of the North, as well as the Socialist women and youth at the capital, oppose the party leaders on this point.

In April, 1915, the Socialist Women's Group celebrated its ninth and the Young Socialists' Federation its eleventh anniversary.

In 1889 was founded the **General Union of Workingmen** (Union General de Trabajadores) a federation of trade unions in sympathy with Socialism. Starting with 3,000 members, it grew to 26,000 in 1900, to 42,000 in 1910, and in 1915 it had 398 local unions with 112,194 members, among them 8,000 women. Vicente Barrio is its Secretary, and its organ is "La Union Obrero." There are also some Anarchist-Syndicalist unions outside the federation.

### **"Liberal" Tyranny.**

The difficulties encountered by the labor movement may be judged by the fact that for thirteen months, ending October, 1910, under the "Liberal" ministry of Canalejas, the offices of the General Union and all local labor headquarters throughout the kingdom were kept closed by the police; all the members of the central committee and many other leaders were prosecuted, and a number imprisoned—all because of the campaign waged by the unions against the government's policy of imperialism in Morocco.

### **Labor Conflicts.**

There have been many labor conflicts during the war. In May, 1915, the Asturian miners won an increase of wages and other concessions through the threat of a strike. In July came a general lockout of bakers in Madrid, in which the Socialist women gave the union valuable aid. A pre-

ventable disaster in the Rio Tinto copper mines in October, costing a thousand lives, provoked intense excitement; the company replied to protests by blacklisting the agitators, including Socialist members of the town council. There was a long strike of sailors on the northwest coast in the summer and fall, ending in partial victory; the authorities closed the union halls, used police against pickets, and arrested many leaders on charges which the court of appeals afterwards declared groundless. In January, 1916, 8,000 bricklayers, 4,000 metal workers, and many of other trades in Barcelona struck for a 25% wage increase to meet the high cost of living. In February the unrest spread to Murcia; in March the troops fired on strikers in Cartagena, killing five. Despite such repressive measures, a number of victories were won.

The twelfth national congress of the labor federation, at Madrid in the spring of 1916, gave most of its attention to the questions of unemployment and food prices. It also demanded state insurance against accidents and legislation to protect the Asturian and Galician fishermen.

The co-operative movement is hardly more than a dozen years old. Socialistic co-operatives exist in Madrid, Bilbao, Oviedo, Eibar, Vigo, Algeciras, and Santander, besides the "neutral" ones in Barcelona. In the capital is a "Casa del Pueblo" or People's House, an old ducal palace, bought and remodeled at a cost of \$200,000, which houses the central organizations of the party and the labor federation and also the local co-operatives, which latter do a business of several hundred thousand dollars a year.

The war has caused great suffering through high prices and unemployment. The party and the federation have made a joint campaign, with large street demonstrations, to demand relief. In the spring of 1916 the government tardily took measures to fix a maximum price for wheat, promote its importation, and keep down freight charges.

The Secretary of the Socialist Party is Daniel Anguiano, Calle de la Fuentes, Madrid.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is Vincente Barrio, Calle de Piamonte 2, Madrid.

## SWEDEN.

Constitutional monarchy; King has only executive power exercised under advice of a Council of State. The Parliament has two Chambers; the Upper House elected by the municipal Councils, the second by universal suffrage over 25 years of age with proportional system. Members of both Chambers receive about \$320 for each session of four months.

The Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party is one of

the Parties whose unity was destroyed by the war. For years there have been differences in the Swedish movement on questions of principles and tactics. Bitter conflicts have taken place between the so-called Young Socialists on the one hand, and the Party and Labor Union movement on the other, conflicts which came to a head at a congress of the Young People's Federation held in Stockholm on March 18 and 19, 1916. It looked at that time as if Sweden would be likely to be drawn into the world struggle. The discussion centered chiefly on an anti-war resolution which disregarded the need of military defense for the purpose of preserving the neutrality of the nation. The resolution also recommended extra-parliamentary mass-action, culminating in a general strike, for the purpose of discouraging all war-like plans on the part of the class in power. The threat of a general strike alone would, the resolution declared, effectually cool the war-like ardor of all military propaganda and should this not be the case, the struggle must be carried to its bitter end. The Resolution closed with the following words: "Our watchword must be 'Peace at all Costs!'" After Lindhagen, the Socialist Mayor of Stockholm, had spoken on the necessity of parliamentary action against the war-like spirit of the "Activists" a second resolution was adopted which attacked the majority in the Socialist parliamentary group. A committee of seven was elected with instructions to organize Party Opposition in order to force the Party leaders and the national head of the Swedish Labor Unions to call a special national congress.

Three delegates to this conference, which included 30 representatives from Party organizations and 70 labor union delegates, were later arrested for incendiary, which indictment was later changed to one of high treason by the government. The trial ended in the conviction of a member of Parliament, Z. Höglund, to three years in prison, of Dr. Heden and of the representative of the anarcho-syndicalist organization E. Olielund, to many months of imprisonment. These sentences were later reduced to a third upon appeal after a protest movement had made itself felt. But the Congress had still another effect. The majority of the Socialist parliamentary group voted, by 62 votes against 4, against the proposal of the minority, that it be allowed to represent its own views in Parliament, and further declared that matters had reached a point where a reconciliation between the majority and minority was out of the question; especially since the radical wing had undertaken to issue an opposition newspaper against the *Social-demokraten*, the official Party paper, and had already established itself as an independent group, holding separate meetings. At the same

time they publicly protested against the opposition movement, which had expressed itself by affiliating itself with the Zimmerwald Conference in spite of the Party's objection to that movement. The Party leaders maintained that a new Party had grown up within the old, with its own organs, its own executive board, its own press, all in bitter opposition to the old Party. They called upon the Party membership to combat, most determinedly, this opposition movement within the Party. Because of this declaration three members of the Executive Committee—three deputies—resigned from office. The Executive Committee likewise published a declaration in opposition to the Zimmerwald movement, which action brought forth a flood of protests from Party branches and locals.

The Swedish Social Democracy is thus faced with a split, the importance of which will be determined only when a general Party Congress takes final action. The Party, which was founded in 1889, had become the strongest and best organized in Sweden. The election of 1915, resulted in the election of 87 representatives against 86 Conservatives and 45 Liberals in the lower House; in the Senate the Party holds 14 seats. The first Socialist to enter the Swedish Parliament was H. Branting, who was elected in 1895 and is still to-day its most powerful leader. The election returns since 1902 are as follows:

Votes		Repre- sentatives	Votes		Repre- sentatives
1902.....	8,751	4	1911.....	172,000	64
1905.....	26,083	17	1914.....	230,000	73
1908.....	54,004	33	1914.....	265,000	87

The first election held in 1914 was a special election, which did not interfere with the regular triennial election.

The following shows the growth of Party membership:

1889 .....	8,000	1909 .....	112,693
1900 .....	45,000	1910 .....	60,813
1905 .....	64,835	1913 .....	75,444
1907 .....	101,929	1914 .....	84,410
1908 .....	133,388	1915 .....	90,000

In the city councils there are 426, on the town boards, schools, and taxation boards 4,795 Social Democrats. The election to the Landsting (Provincial Parliament), held on March 25, 1915, also resulted in substantial gains everywhere; 126 deputies, a direct gain of 45 deputies.

The great victory at the last election, which made the Party the strongest Party in the country, raised the question of ministerial participation. A Congress was held in

November, 1914, in Stockholm, to discuss the matter, and it was decided to form a Coalition Ministry with non-socialist parties, after the war. This decision aroused violent opposition on the part of the Young Socialists, but was carried by a majority of 90 against 58 votes. A motion to demand gradual reduction of armaments in Parliament was lost, with 70 against 61 votes. At this Congress the member of Parliament Steffen was expelled from the Party because he favored intervention in the war on the side of Germany.

The Social Democratic Party of Sweden has 20 organs with a circulation of 160,000. The Young People's Federation with a membership of 12,000 in 400 branches has its own monthly organ *Fram*, and a weekly *Stormkloken*, which are mainly responsible for the radical spirit of the Young Socialist movement. The 2,000 organized Socialist women support a woman paper, *Morgonbris*. The number of "People's Houses" and People's Parks has grown considerably and are valued at six million crowns.

The labor union movement in Sweden, as in all Scandinavian countries, works in closest harmony with the Socialist Party. In 1913 the General Federation had 93,600 members; now it numbers 150,000. In 1908 the General Federation already had 186,226 members. The general strike of 1908 led to a decrease, the membership falling to 60,000. From this blow there has been only a slow and partial recovery. There are also 36,000 workingmen organized outside of the Federation, a large proportion of them belonging to syndicalist organizations. The General strike of 1908 was in reality a general lockout by the employers, which, however, extended immediately also to those workers whom the capitalists had intended to lockout gradually. In this way 290,700 workingmen and women were at once affected. This gigantic class-struggle began on August 4, and came to an end only on November 13, when the Swedish Employers' Association rescinded the lockout order. Neither side had won a victory, but the workers had suffered the severest wounds. The International Labor and Socialist movement showed a splendid spirit of solidarity; in Sweden the working-class raised 3,000,000 crowns, the organized workers and Socialists of other countries the same sum, so that altogether 6,000,000 crowns were collected for the fighting fund of the Swedish general strike. One of the most noteworthy effects of the general strike has been the remarkable decrease in strikes in subsequent years.

The Swedish Co-operative movement has gained in strength from year to year. Beginning in 1889 with a few insignificant organizations, the "Co-operative Federation" in 1909 had 391 branch organizations with 65,652 members.



Since then the business has doubled, the membership increasing to 146,800 members. The co-operatives, too, work hand in hand with the Party and spend a large part of their income on Socialist propaganda.

The Party Secretary of Sweden is Gustav Moller, Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party, Folkesthuss, Barnhusgatan 14, Stockholm.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is H. Lindqvist, Barnhusgatan 16, Stockholm.

## SWITZERLAND.

Federal republic, composed of twenty-two cantons. Legislative power vested in Federal Assembly of two houses—National Council and Council of the States, roughly corresponding to House and Senate in the United States. Executive power in Federal Council, seven members, chosen by Federal Assembly in joint session. Initiative and referendum largely used in both federal and cantonal affairs. Proportional representation in some cantons.

German is the prevailing and official language in sixteen cantons, French in five, and Italian in one.

Swiss social-political history has some peculiar features. One is the early establishment of republican institutions—in the small mountain cantons a primary democracy; in the larger and richer ones an urban oligarchy of merchant and landlord families. The mass of the people were till recently peasant-proprietors. Certain hand trades (such as watch making) have long been extensively practised in some cantons. In others there is a vast number of hotel and restaurant workers, catering to tourists and health-seekers. None of these furnish a sound basis for a labor movement. Only within the last thirty years, with electric transmission of power derived from waterfalls ("white coal") has great industry and a modern proletariat begun to develop rapidly in certain districts. Finally, Switzerland has a great number of immigrant wage-workers (German, French, and Italian) who are not citizens.

The oldest political working-class organization is the **Grütli Union**, founded in 1838, composed chiefly of artisans and hand-workers. At first merely democratic-radical, in 1878 it accepted Socialism in principle and in 1901 it joined (though keeping its autonomy) the **Social Democratic party**, which had been formed under Marxian influence.

The party has not neglected to use the initiative and referendum, but its successes have been mostly negative. Thus in 1903 it overturned a press-muzzling law and in 1906 a reactionary election law; but its positive proposals for social and labor legislation have in most cases been defeated by the votes of peasants, shopkeepers, and hotel workers.

In 1902 the party polled 55,000 votes and elected seven men to the National Council. Its vote rose to 70,000 in 1905 and to 120,000 in 1911, when it won fifteen seats. In the fall of 1914 its vote was still further increased, and eighteen of its candidates were successful. (The National Council has about 200 members.) The party has also one representative in the Council of the States. In 1912 there were 212 Socialists among the 2,907 members of cantonal councils; since then, and even during the war, many more seats have been gained in Zürich, Bern, and elsewhere. In Bern the vote rose from 5,450 in 1913 to nearly 7,000 in 1916.

In 1912 the party had about 23,000 members, and in the summer of 1914 it had 33,238. By the fall of 1915 the number had fallen to 29,585, chiefly as a result of unemployment. Two party papers have had to suspend since the war began, but about fifteen remain. There is a Socialist Women's Federation and a Socialist Young People's Society, the latter with over 2,000 members.

The party congress at Aarau in November, 1915, approved the Zimmerwald resolutions and called on the proletariat of all belligerent countries to take revolutionary action to stop the war. In domestic affairs it demanded graduated taxation of large incomes and properties to cover mobilization expenses; legislation to protect female home-workers; abolition of military courts and requirement that army officers have the same rations and sleeping quarters as the men. It decided also on a reorganization of the party by merging the Grütli Union with the general organization.

In the canton of Zürich, in the spring of 1916, the party decided to initiate a campaign for woman suffrage.

The **Federation of Trade Unions**, founded in 1882, had 5,300 members in 1888, 27,000 in 1903, 70,000 in 1912, and over 89,000 when the war broke out. It lost 30,000 within a few months, but has since regained many of them. It works in close harmony with the party. Its **Secretary is Oscar Schneeberger, Kapellenstrasse 6, Bern**. There were also in 1914 some 35,000 workers in non-affiliated unions, including 12,000 in the Catholic unions, which have little militant character, and 7,000 in the Anarchist-Syndicalist organizations of French Switzerland, where hand industry still largely prevails and where also there are many voteless workingmen.

### **The Co-operative Movement.**

The Federation of Co-operative Consumers' Societies had 230 local branches and 150,000 members in 1911—one to every five households in the republic. Its central wholesale agency had a turnover of \$6,400,000 in that year, while the business of the local stores aggregated about five times as

much. One-fifth of the co-operators were in the canton of Basel. Since then there has been a material growth; co-operative activity has been extended into several branches of production, and during the war the societies have virtually absorbed the business of meat importation.

Both the party and the trade unions have been intensely active since the war began—organizing monster demonstrations to keep alive the spirit of internationalism; struggling for maintenance of wage-rates; bringing pressure on the government in favor of legislation to relieve the unemployed and to keep down food-prices; combating the evils of the military system; and also striving to restore intercourse among the Socialist parties of the belligerent countries and encourage them to active efforts for the restoration of peace.

The Secretary of the party is M. Fährdrich, Birmensdorferstrasse 15, Zürich.

## CHINA.

The Government is composed of a President, a Vice-President, a Senate of 274 members who serve for six years (one-third of the members retiring every two years) elected by the various Provincial Assemblies and Electoral Colleges and a House of Representatives of 596 members who serve for three years, the number for each province—Thibet, Kokonor and Mongolia—being proportional to the estimated population, one representative being elected for each 800,000 of the population. Male citizens are eligible to vote if they are 21 years of age or older and if they possess any of the following qualifications: 1—payment of direct tax of \$2.00 per annum or over; 2—possession of immovable property of the value of \$500 or over; 3—graduate of an elementary or higher school or possession of an equivalent amount of education. Opium smokers are disqualified.

The collectivist idea in China is as old as the Chinese civilization itself—about 4,000 years. So it was natural that the Socialist philosophy should find easy acceptance in this country. "All humanity," said the wise Confucius, "has the same body and the same mind. Consequently all humanity must feel alike and act alike."

The real Socialist movement of China is very young, hardly more than five years of age. It finds its expression in the **Socialist Party of China**, which has lived and grown in spite of persecution. There is also a semi-Socialist Party, an organization about ten years older than the revolutionary Socialist movement, which under the leadership of Sun Yat Sen, has the character of a **National Labor Party** with strictly Chinese ideals, in marked contrast to the revolutionary, proletarian character of the Socialist Party.

In 1911 the first Socialist organization was founded, and the first Socialist newspaper, *The Socialist Star*, was established. In three months this movement, supported and fos-

tered by the first Chinese Revolution, spread throughout the Chinese nation. A number of Socialists were elected to the Parliament of the newly established Chinese Republic. Chang Chi, the president of the first Senate, was a Socialist, who had received his education in Paris and had there become an intimate friend of Jaurès. Ma Su, Sun Yat Sen's secretary, the editor of the most revolutionary newspaper, *The China Republican*, which appeared in the English language, is a Socialist. In an incredibly short time 50 Socialist newspapers had come into existence; Socialist free schools had sprung up; Socialist labor unions and women's auxiliaries grew and prospered, large quantities of Socialist literature were distributed, and Socialist theatrical propaganda companies toured the country. It is not surprising that the ruling class, and especially Yuan Shi Kai, the betrayer of the Revolution, who had used the bitter sacrifices of the Chinese people for his own personal aggrandizement and power, should tremble before the remarkable development of the Socialist movement. In August, 1913, he published the following edict, which shows how seriously disturbed he was:

Peking, August 8, 1913.

The Socialist Party of China is using the cloak of a political party in order to conceal its evil designs. These demagogues would coerce the government and flatter the people for their own evil ends. They are a danger to peace and law and order. They advocate violence and assassination. Therefore they have incurred the displeasure of not only the government but of the whole people as well. Many letters have been received from officers at Tien Tsin, Peking and elsewhere, warning us against Socialist plots and conspiracies. Many foreign anarchists have joined them in order to disturb the international peace. The Socialist Party of China is not like the Socialists of other countries who merely study Socialism. If we do not put an end to their activities, a great outburst will follow. Therefore we have issued this decree calling upon the Provincial governments and generals to dissolve the Socialist Party of China wherever found, and arrest the leaders. Thus law and order can be preserved.

YUAN SHI KAI,

Provisional President of the Republic.

The Socialist organizations were dissolved; their property confiscated; their leaders thrown into prison and executed. Only the English headquarters in Shanghai escaped destruction.

The leader of the Socialist movement was Kiang Kang Hu, a professor of the Peking University, and one of those who published a number of radical newspapers. According to his own statement, he was influenced particularly by Bebel's *Woman and Socialism*. As a result he advocated schools for women,—an innovation unheard of in the annals of China. His first Socialist speech, "Woman and the Socialist movement," delivered in June, 1911, in the Che Kiang was distributed widely as a leaflet and caused the first Socialist persecutions in China. It also led to the founding of the

first Socialist club in Shanghai, which was organized as a study club, where fifty men and women met to study the basic principles of the Socialist philosophy. Meanwhile the first Revolution in the South of China, in Hankow, had begun. On November 3, 1911 Shanghai fell into the hands of the Revolutionists. The club now changed its name to the Socialist Party of China and immediately sent organizers into the Southern Provinces. The *Socialist Star* became a daily and gained a huge circulation. The membership of the Shi Hui Tong (Socialist Party), the first political party of China, increased rapidly.

On November 5, the first convention of the Party was held in Shanghai, where a platform was adopted which was a peculiar mixture of immediate demands and ultimate aims. As is to be expected, but few of the Chinese Socialists have a clear understanding of the Marxian philosophy, but they were firmly united in their one aim, the establishment of a Socialist Republic. In the preamble they demanded the common ownership of the land and the means of production while the "working platform" contained the following eight planks:

1. The establishment of a Republican form of government.
2. The wiping out of all racial differences.
3. The abolition of all the remaining forms of feudal slavery and the establishment of the principle of equality before the law.
4. The abolition of all hereditary estates.
5. A free and universal school system, on co-educational lines, with free textbooks and the feeding of the children.
6. The abolition of all titles and castes.
7. The levying of taxes principally on land and the abolition of all personal taxes.
8. The abolition of the army and navy.

The thirty Socialists who were elected to the first republican parliament introduced bills demanding equal, direct and secret suffrage, public schools, the abolition of personal taxes, inheritance tax, abolition of capital punishment, reduction of the standing army, abolition of girl-slavery. Not one of these bills was voted on because the forcible dissolution of Parliament by Yuan Shi Kai put an end to all proceedings. "The Party had by this time," says Kiang Kang Hu, "over four hundred branches in China, each with its official teachers and readers—for a great part of the membership could not read. Agitators and organizers, most of them working without pay, were sent out broadcast. The Party owned its own printing plant, and published three official



papers, the *Daily Socialist Star*, the *Weekly Socialist Bulletin*, and the *Monthly Official Bulletin*. Among the pamphlets and leaflets which were printed at this plant and sent out in great quantities, one of the most popular was 'The Communist Manifesto.' In addition, many branches printed their own local papers, and at one time there were over 50 of these in existence. Then, too, there were between 10 and 15 privately owned papers which supported the Socialist Party. The most important of the free public schools established by the Party was situated at Nanking. This school had an attendance of over eight hundred. Free public kindergartens were also established by the Party. A very curious part of the party organization was the Socialist Opera and Orchestra Company. In China actors and musicians are a very low caste. After the first Revolution many of these joined the Party, and the Party organized them into several theatrical companies, which toured the country, playing symbolical Socialist plays, and proving themselves an invaluable adjunct to the Party propaganda. The woman's organization had for its main work the furthering of the agitation for woman's suffrage. This organization had at one time close on one thousand members, and in addition many women belonged directly to the party itself. Schools for women were started by the Party, and had a large attendance."

Side by side with the Socialist movement, there had also grown up an anarchist movement, which became most troublesome to the party organization, since a large number of the anarchists had joined the Socialist ranks and endeavored to propagate their ideas among its numbers. At the second annual convention of the Party the conflict of ideas led to the founding of a "Pure Socialist Party" by the anarchistic element. The inevitable confusion of the Socialists with the Anarchists in the minds of the ignorant masses became a tremendous hindrance to the movement. Opposition against the Socialist Party had grown among the bourgeois democrats, who feared its influence even more than the increasing absolutism of Yuan Shi Kai. The Republicans realized too late that they were playing into the hands of a betrayer, who gradually crowded them out of every important position and who played his last card in the murder of the Young China Association. The second Revolution in July, 1913, came too late. It was drowned in blood. Parliament was dissolved and a new election ordered. The aforementioned edict against the Socialist Party had its effect. Hundreds of Socialists and Republicans were executed, and the Party as such completely destroyed. But in spite of all persecution, hundreds of intelligent Socialists carried on their secret agitation. They were a most important factor in the

mysterious illness and death of Yuan Shi Kai in June, 1916, and the overthrow of his openly imperialistic government, in favor of the honestly constitutional republican form of government established by the former Vice-President, Li Yuan Hung.

There are but few **labor unions** in China, and such as there are, were founded by the Socialist Party. In China, handicraft is still at its zenith, and the workers are partially organized in local guilds. The members of these guilds, with handclasp and pass-word, find ready access to guilds in other towns. A three-year apprentice system is still universally the custom. The journeyman receives a wage which varies between \$3.00 and \$10.00 per month, including full board. As the purchasing power of money is from five to ten times as high in China as in the United States, one may assume that the monthly wage of the skilled Chinese laborer is equal to from \$20.00 to \$30.00, including full board. Strikes—and political strikes also—are quite common in China. The Chinaman works seven days of the week. He knows no weekly day of rest. He does, however, celebrate three annual holidays, one in the summer, one in the autumn and at the New Year. The celebration of the latter holiday extends over from five to twenty days, according to the custom in the various trades. The number of real, industrial or factory, laborers is still very small, but it is growing rapidly from year to year. Ore and coal mines, steel and iron foundries, as well as tobacco, paper, textile and shoe factories offer the most striking examples of factory labor and are owned and controlled chiefly by foreign capitalists. The coal and ore miners work 12 hours daily for a monthly remuneration of \$20.00. The miners must live in company huts and buy at company stores. They have a loosely organized union, which, after the first Revolution, joined the Socialist Party as a whole. It is noteworthy that the factory and machine workers were much more active in both Revolutions than the craftsmen, who, with comparatively few exceptions, remained neutral.

## JAPAN.

Constitutional Empire; House of Peers: 324 representatives of Nobility, 45 representatives of highest taxpayers; House of Representatives: 379 members; restricted manhood suffrage.

Under Feudalism in Japan there were only four classes: Samurai (soldier), farmer, workman and merchant. Carpenters, plasterers, stone masons, blacksmiths, sawyers and miners all had strong guilds, the miners and sawyers retaining theirs till the present time. Just as under the feudal regime for more than three hundred years, the sawyers

regulate their wages and hours of labor. The miners' guild is a primitive type but very strong and quite communistic in its benefit and relief system. All the miners throughout the country belong to it. But the **labor movement** in the modern sense did not exist before the Chino-Japan war of 1894-95. The victory over China and the exaction of an indemnity gave a great impetus to the industries and a consequent increase of workers gave rise to labor troubles and strikes. Before this there had been Japanese who had studied the labor movements of Europe and America and who had tried to interest the workers of Japan in them, but they did not succeed, for it was a strange doctrine they preached, a doctrine of the Western world, and, besides, none of them was a worker himself. The real labor movement of Japan started in the summer of 1897. An organization was formed in Tokyo by various workingmen, principally printers and ironworkers. This was followed a few months later by the formation of an iron workers union in Tokyo, which soon had more than 1,000 members. The printers soon followed suit and formed their own union. In the winter of 1898 an engineers' and firemen's union, with more than 1,000 members, was organized on the Nippon R. R. Co. This was the first union formed as the result of a strike. Several thousand workers were involved in what was the first systematically conducted strike in Japan. The strikers obtained all their demands. This union has now a strike fund of over 10,000 yen, a membership of six thousand, 42 branches scattered all over Japan. It has paid out in the last four years more than 8,000 yen in death, sick and strike benefit. It published in Tokyo a bi-monthly organ, *The Labor World*. The Printers' Union also had its monthly paper. Thus from 1895 to 1899 Japan saw the beginnings of a very promising Labor movement. Sen Katayama, the well known Socialist, secretary of the Ironworkers' Union and editor of *The Labor World* travelled throughout Japan, speaking at all kinds of meetings. The government did not interfere with or attempt to suppress the Labor movement. But soon all this changed. In 1900 the Imperial Diet passed the so-called Police Law which at once became a powerful weapon to crush the movement. The police power of the state acted now under the authority of the Minister of the Interior and in a very short time killed one union after another until nothing was left of the promising labor movement. According to the law any agitation for higher wages and shorter hours is a crime, and the agitator is to be arrested forthwith. When trade-union propaganda became impossible, the leaders of the class-conscious workingmen changed their tactics; they started a political and socialistic agitation and created in that way

a broader and more general Labor movement. *The Labor World*, its mouthpiece, had become a real Socialist organ.

The history of the **Socialist movement** of Japan is one of oppression and persecution. Started in the latter part of 1899 by a few young men in Tokyo it was at first a purely academic affair, a debating society for some intellectuals who had discovered Socialism while studying in Europe or America. The monthly meeting was held at a Unitarian Church. This changed when the Railroad Workers' Union at its annual meeting passed a resolution joining the movement for general suffrage and indorsing Socialism in its platform as the final goal of the labor movement. The debating Circle which met at the Unitarian Church was so greatly encouraged that the **Socialist Party** of Japan was founded by them and that in 1901 a Manifesto with the Socialist Platform was published in the May Issue of *The Labor World*. But this party had a rather short life. The government immediately suppressed the Socialist Party, its organ and the four non-socialistic daily papers in Tokyo which had printed the Party Manifesto. The Socialists then formed a Socialist Association and started educational work. They held regular monthly public meetings, which were always attended by hundreds and by charging an admission fee of 10 Sen they soon collected a considerable propaganda fund. During the Russo-Japanese war the Socialists conducted an energetic anti-war propaganda and increased their membership to five thousand men and women. They now published a weekly paper, distributed leaflets, pamphlets and books and held meetings all over the country. Just after the war the Socialist Party was revived and a Socialist Daily published in Tokyo. But again the government used all the means in its power to suppress the Socialist movement; fifty comrades were sent to prison, one editor after the other was arrested and jailed until after seventy days the publication of the daily newspaper ceased. Red flag demonstrations were arranged, mass meetings on public streets held despite the police prohibition and the propaganda conducted so vigorously that the government became ever more brutal and violent in the suppression of the movement. It was only natural that the movement ceased its public activities and became once more a secret organization. The result was the world famous Anarchist trial of 1909-1910. Twenty-four Socialists and Anarchists were condemned to death; twelve of the men were hanged, all Socialist literature was confiscated, the books burned and the Party dissolved. Since then very little Socialist propaganda has been possible.

The government does now permit Socialist agitation and one or two little magazines have been published by T. Sakai

and others. But our Japanese comrades must be very careful, must treat Socialism as an academic question and must not report anything about Socialist activity in Japan and still less about Socialism in Europe or America. A Socialist School has been started in Tokyo where the pupils are taught German, English, sociology and national economy; Dr. T. Koto, a famous surgeon and physician, who learned his socialism in Germany, began a movement to treat and cure the poor for almost nothing and has had the satisfaction of seeing this movement grow to a big social movement with five branches in Tokyo, Yokohama and Osaka. Last year the associated Socialist physicians treated 703,274 persons in spite of strong opposition from the medical profession. It publishes a paper, edited by Socialists, which already has a circulation of several hundred thousand. This paper is not a Socialist publication in the strict sense of the word, but it interprets the events of the day in the light of the Socialist philosophy. It will soon be a focus of working class activities since the foundation of a co-operative movement is being planned in connection with it. There exists another "labor" movement in Japan—with the permission and encouragement of the government. It is the so-called **Yu-ai-Kai**, which is controlled by bourgeois reformers and managed by B. Zuzuki, the delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention of 1915. This organization claims a membership of several thousand. In September, 1916, the factory law will become effective. Under this law the employer is permitted to set children to work for 14 hours a day and also to employ women and children over 15 years of age in cotton factories at night.

The oppression and persecution of Socialists and class conscious unionists may be expected to continue, for the annual budget provides 270,000 Yen for the suppression of the genuine Labor movement. The government keeps a secret list of all known Socialists and has one special police inspector at every police headquarters in charge of the anti-Socialist activities. This list is also sent to foreign countries, such as America, Canada, Germany and China with instructions to the vice-consuls to watch their countrymen and report as soon as one becomes active in the Socialist movement. Fusatoro Ota, a resident of Seattle, Wash., was thus suspected to be a Socialist; the Vice-Consul notified his government and was instructed to send Ota home. The Consul found a pretext to have him arrested by the United States Government and had him deported to Japan, where he now awaits trial in Yokohama. That is a fair sample of the anti-socialist activity of the Japanese government.



## CANADA.

The Government of Canada is federal, centred at Ottawa, which city is the capital of the Dominion, while the provinces have their respective local Legislatures. The head of the Federal Government is the Governor-General, representing the British Crown. The Lieutenant-Governors of the several provinces are appointed by the Federal Government. The Legislatures are elected by the people of each province. The Senate (Dominion Parliament) is composed of 87 members. The House of Commons is composed of 234 members. The members of the House are elected under the several provincial franchises, in accordance with a Federal act passed in 1898. The Senators are appointed for life.

Canada with its vast territorial extent is still thinly populated, which fact alone would place it among the great agrarian nations. It is rightly called the granary of the world. The Canadian government and a number of organizations have been vigorously conducting an immigration campaign, which has attracted many thousands to its promising lands, not only from European nations, but even from the United States. This immigration has likewise encouraged the growth of industrial centers in certain parts of Canada, some of which rank to-day with the large manufacturing cities of the American continent. Yet these are only the beginnings, which are certain to become of international importance. It was inevitable that the industrial workers who came to Canada from other than the English shores should inject into Canadian politics a new element of dissatisfaction with the traditional method of supporting one or the other of the two old parties. This dissatisfaction led to the founding of Socialist organizations. In 1890, there were branches of the American Socialist Labor Party in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg. A short time before the split of the S. L. P. in the U. S. in 1899 a Canadian Socialist League was organized, because there was lively dissatisfaction with the methods and tactics of the S. L. P. In a short time 60 Leagues had been organized in the Province of Ontario, which were followed, two years later, by the Socialist Party of British Columbia. In 1905 all existing Socialist organizations of Canada were united in the Socialist Party of Canada. The *Western Clarion* became the official party organ.

The way of the Canadian Party is a stony one, for the labor unions are almost wholly followers of the old capitalist parties, who reward them by occasionally putting one or the other of the union leaders into public office. But the Party is progressing, nevertheless, as the following table will show:

1903 .....	3,507	1910 .....	10,929
1907 .....	3,670	1911 .....	15,852
1908 .....	8,697	1912 .....	15,857
1909 .....	9,688	1913 .....	17,071

The Canadian Socialists have not yet succeeded in sending representatives to the Dominion Parliament. They did

succeed, however, in electing Comrade O'Brien in Alberta in 1909 and Comrade Rigg in Manitoba in 1915 to the provincial legislatures.

In 1911, a second Socialist Party came into existence, the Social Democratic Party of Canada which on January 1, 1915, had 230 Locals, 82 in Ontario, 46 in British Columbia, 45 in Alberta, 20 in Saskatchewan, 28 in Manitoba, 8 in Quebec and one in Nova Scotia, with a membership of 5,380, a paid secretary and two representatives, Jack Place and Parker Williams in the House of British Columbia. Three years ago the Party had several weekly and monthly papers in the English and other languages. Today only *The Forward* is still published; it is the official paper of the Party. This Party joined the International in 1912, while the Socialist Party has no international connections. The latter has refused to join so long as the Labor Parties of Great Britain and Australia are admitted to the International.

In the Provincial election in Ontario in 1914 the S. D. P. polled over 6,000 votes (14 candidates) and in the municipal election in Winnipeg 2,000 votes were polled for its candidate against 2,500 for the Liberals and 3,000 for the Conservatives.

The Canadian Socialists have made heroic efforts to stem the tide of jingoism, but in vain. Nevertheless the majority of the Socialists still continue their agitation, even if the most active Socialists have been scattered far and wide.

The general Labor movement in Canada stands strongly under the influence of the American A. F. of L. This may be the reason why the Labor Party, founded by the labor unions of Canada, has progressed far more slowly than those of England and Australia. The nationalist spirit of the Canadian worker resents what is called the dictatorship of American leaders, and, therefore, opposes the pure and simple labor movement. The Labor Party has elected one representative, Mann, to the Dominion Parliament, another having been elected as Liberal-Labor member. Canada has altogether 166,163 trade unionists, 104,482 of whom are affiliated with the A. F. of L.; 23,813 belong to exclusively Canadian unions, while of the remainder some are affiliated with branches or parts of the A. F. of L., and others are entirely independent. The labor unions had in

	Members
1911 .....	133,132
1912 .....	160,120
1913 .....	175,799
1914 .....	166,163
1915 .....	143,343

The decrease in membership in 1914 was caused by the war, for on December 31, 1914, 3,498 union men had already resigned to join the army, while several thousands did so without resigning from their organizations. On December 31, 1915, the number of resignations had risen to 12,411.

Among the labor laws of Canada the Lemieux Act is well known. It was passed in 1907 and is intended to prevent strikes and lockouts in mines and industries connected with public utilities. The great miners' strike in Alberta in 1906, was the immediate cause of passing this law. It provides for a board of conciliation and investigation, one member to be appointed by the employers and one by the employees, and a chairman to be appointed by the government, wherever a strike is threatened. No strike or lockout shall be declared, until this board has rendered its report. When the report has been rendered it may be accepted or declined by both sides. The purpose of this law, is clearly, to influence public opinion in favor of the compromises which are usually the result of the investigations and so to injure the cause of strikers, who do not follow the paternal advice of the Board.

### LATIN AMERICA.

The government of all Latin American countries is republican and is framed more or less on the model of the United States Constitution, the executive power being in the hands of a president, while legislation is enacted by a national congress consisting of two houses. Porto Rico, however, is under the jurisdiction of the United States. It enjoys representative government under an Act of Congress, but the appointment of the executive is reserved to the United States Government.

Neither economic nor political conditions have hitherto favored the rise of a proletarian movement in Latin America. Even where modern industry has to some extent grown up, it has largely been owned abroad, and this exotic character of capitalism in these countries has hampered the normal development. The mass of the people are uneducated, have a low standard of living, are widely dispersed, and so lack political initiative and cohesion. Under nominally liberal republican constitutions in most of the states, a small oligarchy of landowners, merchants, and bankers has generally held power through the free use of corruption and military force; and this oligarchy has in many cases made matters yet worse by selling out the economic resources and opportunities of their countries to European and American capitalists. Yet within the last two decades the Socialist and Labor movement has got some foothold.

## ARGENTINA.

Argentina takes the lead—a fact due in part directly to its higher industrial development, in part to the consequent large immigration of workingmen from the more advanced countries of Europe, especially Germany and Italy. A **Socialist party** was formed in 1896. It has been represented in International Socialist Congresses and in the International Socialist Bureau since 1904, has participated in every general election, has worked for the promotion of trade unionism and for labor legislation. Starting with 134 votes, it reached 1,257 in 1904 and elected one member of the House of Deputies. In 1905 and again in 1909-10, on account of its vigorous protest against the violent suppression of strikes, its leading members were prosecuted and gangs of "hooligans," with the connivance of the police, sacked the offices of its papers. Apparently it gained strength from these attacks, as well as from a propaganda tour by Jean Jaurès in 1911. Its vote grew to 3,500, to 5,200, to 7,000, and in 1912 to 23,000, electing two Deputies. In 1913 it won two more seats in the House and one in the Senate. In 1914 it increased its representation in the House to nine, out of 120, and had over 40,000 votes. There are Socialists also in two of the state legislatures. The party had 4,000 members in 1912, but the number has since greatly increased. Manuel Ugarte, Alfredo Palacios, and Dr. Juan Justo are among its leading men. Its **Secretary is Antonio de Tomaso**, and its chief organ the daily "*Vanguardia*," published in Buenos Aires, besides which it has ten weeklies.

The **trade-union movement** is still weak, being divided into an anarchistic and an anti-political wing, with also a growing socialistic element. **Co-operative effort** has thus far been directed chiefly to mutual credit for home-building and to the conduct of some bakeries.

The European war at first caused a keen industrial depression, but has since greatly stimulated the textile and some other manufactures. In July, 1915, the party held its tenth congress, in which it decided to convoke in 1916 a congress of all South American working-class organizations, political, industrial, and co-operative, which accept the ideas of internationalism, class struggle, political action, and socialization of means of production.

## BRAZIL.

In Brazil a labor movement has for some time existed among the numerous immigrant workingmen of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, and Bahia, with an Italian daily paper, "*Avanti*," and a German weekly, "*Vorwärts*." Of late some

native Portuguese-speaking elements have been aroused, and early in 1916 a Socialist party had been formed, with branches in four places besides those named, and with a weekly organ in the Portuguese language published at Sao Paulo.

## CHILE.

In 1887 there was founded in Chile a Democratic party composed chiefly of workingmen and having socialistic tendencies. In 1894 for the first time it won a seat in the chamber of Deputies, in 1897 a second, and in 1901 a third. In 1906 it elected six of its candidates, but three were arbitrarily unseated. At this time it had also eighty representatives in city councils, and its vote had grown to 18,000. The breach was now widening between the definitely socialistic and the vaguely democratic elements. The former were gaining ground when in 1907 there came a strike of 30,000 of the wretchedly exploited mine workers in the North, which was crushed by brute force, 800 strikers being massacred. After a period of disorganization, there was formed in the North, in 1912, a **Socialist Labor party**, which that year succeeded in electing to the Chamber Luis Recabárren, a printer and a veteran of the labor movement. He was unseated because of his refusal to take an oath inconsistent with his principles. The party has remained without parliamentary representation, but has carried on a campaign of education and helped in building up trade unions and co-operatives. In this it has had aid from the party in Argentina. The government reports the existence in 1910 of 433 local labor unions with 65,000 members, and in 1913 of 547 unions with 92,000 members. It seems likely that these figures include many workmen's mutual-aid societies and other bodies that are not properly trade unions; but there were at any rate 10,000 railway men, 2,000 bakery workers, over 2,000 shoe-makers, nearly 2,000 carpenters, 1,000 wagon builders, and 800 street-railway employees organized in real unions in the region of the Center, besides a separate federation in the extreme South and unions of miners and others in the North. On account of the peculiar configuration of the country, which is about 100 miles wide and over 2,000 miles long, the labor movement is not strongly centralized. Early in 1914, in reprisal for railway and mine strikes, the principal labor leaders and editors were arrested. Meanwhile, the Socialist Labor party has spread from the North to other regions, and in 1915 it held its first national congress at Santiago and established there an organ entitled "Vanguardia."



### CUBA.

In Cuba there were some Socialists and more Anarchists, even under Spanish rule, and trade unionism existed at least among the cigar makers and the skilled building workers. With the growth of industry since the separation from Spain, Socialism and Labor organization have also grown. A Socialist party was formed in 1910, affiliated with the International Bureau, and having its headquarters at 86 via San Rafael, Havana. Its organ is "El Socialista," published weekly, and there are also trade-union papers, "La Tierra" and "Via Libre."

### MEXICO.

Mexico has of late commanded more attention in this country than any other Latin-American state; although its Socialist and Labor movement is still small, it vitally interests both the party and the unions in the United States.

Along with the Constitution of 1857, the Mexican Congress passed a law declaring that the right of property in land depends on its being worked and that "the accumulation in the hands of a few people of large territorial possessions which are not cultivated or rendered productive is against the common welfare and contrary to the principles of democratic and republican government." This gives the keynote to Mexican social history. Popular uprisings, from the War for Independence, 1810-21, to the present, have in the main represented the effort of the rural masses to break up the large estates and raise themselves from the status of virtual serfs (debt-bound peons) to that of peasant proprietors. The antagonism between clerical and anticlerical forces has not been a matter of religious belief, but has resulted from the fact that the church is a great landholding agency, in close alliance with other monopolistic interests.

#### The Diaz Blight.

Under Presidents Benito Juarez and Lerdo de Tejado, 1858-76 (notwithstanding the French invasion, 1862-67, aided by Spain and connived at by Britain) great progress was made toward realizing the ideal of agrarian democracy and promoting a native and normal development of the country's resources. Under Porfirio Diaz, 1876-1911, this work was rapidly undone, the public-school system was destroyed, the press gagged, the courts made venal, elections controlled by military force; assassination and massacre became familiar governmental methods; the ownership of land was reconcentrated and peonage revived; an enormous debt in favor of European and American bankers was created, only a small

part of which represented money actually paid into the treasury or spent for any public purpose; and agricultural, grazing, and forest land, water rights, ore and oil fields, and railway franchises were given away or sold for a song to combinations of native and foreign capitalists, the governing clique always sharing the spoils. There was a forced development of industrial production in certain regions, which yielded huge profits, chiefly to American owners. Peasants driven from the soil had to become wage-workers under most miserable conditions, and with the connivance of the authorities superintendents of mines, factories, and plantations in many cases kept these workers in subjection by the use of whip and revolver. An incidental feature of the Diaz regime was that even members of the more fortunate classes often suffered spoliation and outrage, so that discontent became rife among such proprietors and business men as were not in favor with the "Científicos"—the dominant party or, more properly speaking, the official ring. Yet all dissatisfied elements were long held in check by fear that the outbreak of civil war would be the signal for "intervention" by the United States.

In the early nineties was formed the "**Junta Revolucionaria del Partido Liberal**," which strove for the revival of the Constitution of 1857 and the agrarian policy. Some years later, when many of its original members had been killed or had died in prison, it made its headquarters at St. Louis, Mo., where it published a weekly paper called "**Regeneracion**," in Spanish and English, to enlighten American public opinion and combat intervention, and to arouse the spirit of the Mexican masses by copies smuggled across the border. Among its leading members at this time were several Socialists—L. Gutierrez de Lara, Ricardo Flores Magon, Manuel Sarabia, and others—who welcomed the beginnings of a labor movement in the mining and manufacturing centers of Mexico, and were able to enlist the sympathy of the Socialist Party, the Western Federation of Miners, and other working-class organizations in this country. In 1906-07 occurred a strike of 40,000 workers in the cotton mills of Orizaba and another of 10,000 copper miners at Cananea. Both were crushed by the slaughter of hundreds of strikers, but the spirit of revolt still spread. This new phase of the situation alarmed powerful capitalist groups in the United States, and yielding to their desires the Roosevelt Administration harried the members of the Junta with incessant searches, arrests, and prosecutions. Three were imprisoned for "breach of neutrality," though it was notorious that armed agents of capitalist interests could cross the frontier with impunity.

### The Revolutionary Outbreak.

In 1910 armed revolt broke out simultaneously in the North and the South. Within a few months the whole country was ablaze. The insurgents were mostly peons, with some wage-workers; but certain propertied elements also took a prominent part in the movement, though by no means fully sharing its purposes. The situation was further complicated by the participation of military adventurers, of the type familiar throughout Latin America, each playing his own hand or fighting for whatever native or foreign interest paid him best, and by the rivalry of various exploiting groups, who backed this or that faction as suited their purpose for the moment. It is not yet historically possible altogether to explain the tangled developments of the last six years. Only a few leading events are here mentioned:

May, 1911, Diaz resigns and flees; October, Francisco Madero becomes provisional president, but soon disappoints the hopes of the masses and fails to pacify the country; February, 1913, Victoriano Huerta, commander of the army, seizes the capital, murders Madero, proclaims himself provisional president, and proceeds to copy and even surpass the abuses of the Diaz period; new revolts at once break out and rapidly gain ground; most of the insurgents recognize Venustiano Carranza as Liberal or Constitutionalist leader, with Francisco Villa as his principal military chief in the North; most European governments recognize Huerta, but United States refuses; April, 1914, Huerta's forces insult American marines at Tampico and refuse apology; war seems imminent; American naval and military forces occupy Vera Cruz for several months; conference of Argentine, Brazilian, and Chilean diplomats at Niagara Falls tries to adjust affairs, but fails; July, Huerta, resigns and flees; in the following months Villa and other chiefs break with Carranza and civil war continues; October, 1915, United States recognizes Carranza as de facto head of Mexican government.

### Support from American Labor.

Throughout this period the Socialist and Socialist-Labor parties and many other labor and radical organizations in this country had taken an ever keener interest in Mexican affairs, sympathizing with the democratic elements, though not always able at the time clearly to distinguish the genuine from the treacherous ones. The Socialist party convention of 1908 denounced the arrest of Magon, Rivera, Sarabia, and Villareal, and pledged them support, a pledge which was made good by vigorous agitation especially in the Southwest. The convention of 1910 adopted a resolution demanding "that

the government of this country shall not interfere in the affairs of Mexico and other Latin American republics" and declaring that the party was "unalterably opposed to the powers of this nation being used to buttress any foreign despotism." In the spring of 1911 President Taft massed troops on the frontier and seemed to be preparing to come to the rescue of Diaz. In March the Socialist National Executive Committee issued a manifesto headed "Withdraw the Troops!" reviewing the situation and calling for a popular protest against intervention. Many unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as well as more radical labor organizations, joined in distributing copies of this manifesto, holding mass meetings, and sending addresses to the President and Congress. In April Representative Berger submitted a petition for the recall of the troops, with 87,600 signatures, and introduced a joint resolution to the same effect—the first Socialist resolution ever presented in the United States Congress. The party convention of 1912 reaffirmed the demand for non-interference. Early in 1914 the Tampico affair was the pretext for a very strenuous effort through the capitalist press to create enthusiasm for a Mexican war, but this attempt was defeated through vigorous Socialist and Labor agitation, which was made more effective by the fact that the Ludlow Massacre had roused intense feeling against the military. In the meantime, the publication of "Barbarous Mexico" by John Kenneth Turner, of "The Mexican People: Their Struggle for Freedom" by De Lara and Edgcumb Pinchon, and of numerous articles by Sarabia, John Murray, Carlo de Fornaro, and others had done much to educate American public opinion.

### Carranza's Reforms.

By the spring of 1916 the Carranza government appeared to be fairly well established, and had given evidence of a serious intention to carry out a program of social reform. Among the important federal decrees was one compelling oil companies to report fully on their operations; one for testing the titles to great landed estates; one providing for public free schools throughout the republic; and one regulating the liquor trade—which, in fact, was prohibited in fourteen states. In several states still more radical measures were taken. In Sonora all concessions granted by Huerta and Villa were declared void, and the state took charge of the operation of certain disputed mines; the right of labor organization was recognized and a minimum wage decreed. In Vera Cruz the formation of trade unions was authorized under legal regulation; and a commission was set up with power to enforce maximum prices for necessities of life. In Yucatan

large estates were repurchased at a valuation fixed by the state, and the land so acquired was divided into small tracts, given to peons in use, subject to an annual tax, the title remaining in the state and possession being conditioned on actual cultivation; a co-operative society of sisal growers was formed, with state backing, to free them from their dependence on the American fibre trust; the old "cuentas" or standing accounts against peons were cancelled, the law forbidding them to leave an employer while in debt to him was repealed, and a new labor law was put in force, providing for a maximum workday and minimum wage, for accident compensation and maternity protection, and encouraging the formation of trade unions. The first convention of women ever held in Mexico took place early in 1916, and a woman's paper, "La Mujer Mexicana," sprang up at the capital.

As is natural in view of its youth, the Mexican labor movement is still in a somewhat unstable condition, and neither its policies nor its forms of organization are yet clearly defined. In some cases it appears to be only tolerated by the government, in others to be patronized and even perhaps controlled. In Yucatan there are unions of bakers, cooks and waiters, carpenters, clerks, dockers, electricians, hackmen, masons, machinists and boiler makers, railway workers, sailors, and smeltermen; their organ is "La Voz de la Revolucion," at Merida, edited by Baltasar Pages; the chief of the state department of labor is Carlos Loveira. In the city of Mexico Dr. Atl edits "Accion Mundial," the chief organ of the "Casa del Obrero Mundial" (literally, the House of Labor of the World), one of the two national labor federations. The other is the "Confederacion de Sindicatos Obreros" or Federation of Labor Unions, which has its headquarters at Vera Cruz, with Ursulo Galvan and Joaquin Mendizal as its secretaries. The former of these two bodies seems to represent the syndicalist tendency, the latter to be modeled after the A. F. of L. It is not yet possible to give any statistics as to membership.

### Averting War.

The Villista raid into New Mexico renewed the danger of war, as it was obviously meant to do. When American troops were sent across the border, and still more in June when they were pushed far into the interior and mobilization of the militia was begun, a very critical situation was created. The Socialists of the United States again rose to the occasion, and this time they were much less than in the earlier crises. The Pacifist organizations, which had gained strength in consequence of the European war, took vigorous action.



Still more important, Organized Labor in the United States, recognizing the growing menace of militarism at home, and wishing well to the young labor movement in Mexico, bestirred itself to maintain peace. Pressure was brought to bear on the Wilson Administration, and at the same time President Gompers formally asked Carranza to ease the situation by freeing his American prisoners, which he instantly did. Great labor-peace meetings were held in both countries, fraternal greetings were exchanged, and proclamations published declaring that only the enemies of labor desired war. In the first days of July there was held at Washington the first international conference between accredited representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of the two Mexican national organizations named above. It seems certain that this action had much to do with averting actual war, and it will probably have still more far-reaching effects. Loveira and Pages immediately sailed for South America, bearing credentials from both the American and the Mexican federations, and stating that their mission was to promote closer relations among the organized workmen of the whole Western Hemisphere, corresponding to the development of a Pan-American capitalism.

### PORTO RICO.

In Porto Rico a Socialist movement, led by Santiago Iglesias and Eduardo Conde, appeared immediately after annexation, and was represented in the first convention of the Socialist Party of America, at Indianapolis in 1901. This attempt seems to have been premature. Its definitely socialistic character soon faded away, leaving a small but fairly vigorous trade-union movement, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In 1908, however, a **Workers' Party**, accepting the principles of Socialism, was formed in Arecibo. It polled 702 votes that year; by 1914 it had extended its activities to the whole island and polled 4,398 votes, three-fourths of them in Arecibo, where it won a majority in the city council. In March, 1915, the first convention was held at Cayey, with fourteen local sections represented. It was decided to affiliate with the Socialist Party of America, and Esteban Padilla was elected as president and Manuel Rojas as secretary of the organization. Early in 1916 some 20,000 workers on the sugar plantations struck for the eight-hour day and an increase of wages, the existing rate being only 50 or 60 cents for a twelve-hour day. Great indignation was caused by the conduct of the island police, who attacked the strikers' parades and hall meetings at several places, killing

five and wounding more than twenty men, women, and children. The A. F. of L. Executive protested to President Wilson, and Congressman London also took the matter up in Congress.

## URUGUAY.

Uruguay is the smallest, the most densely peopled, and in many respects the most progressive of the South American republics. Land ownership is widely distributed, and this has strengthened the workings of political democracy. One-fourth of the population is in the capital, Montevideo, which is an important shipping point and has large meat-packing, glass, leather, paper, and other industries. The Socialist and Labor movement is mostly confined to this city. The **Socialist party** was organized in 1905. In 1911, with the aid of the Radicals, it elected Prof. Emilio Frugoni to the Chamber. In 1914, however, Radical support was withdrawn and at the same time the party was attacked by Anarchists in the Labor Federation, with the result that the seat was lost. The party has about 500 dues-paying members and two weekly papers, its organ being "El Socialista," published at the capital.

In the French colonies of **Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyana** there are active Socialist groups. The two latter have each sent a Socialist to the Chamber of Deputies at Paris (Légitime and Franconie, respectively) and in Martinique there is one Socialist, Lagrosillière, in the colonial legislature and several in municipal councils.

## SOUTH AFRICA.

The Act of Union vested the executive government in the King and his successors, a Governor-General advised by an executive council and ministers of state. Legislative power was vested in a Parliament composed of the King, a Senate of forty members, eight nominated for 10 years by the Governor-General in council, and eight elected from each original province by the two Houses of the Colonial Legislature sitting together; and a House of Assembly consisting of members chosen as follows: From the Cape Colony 51; Natal 17; Transvaal 36; Orange Free State 17. The Governor-General has the power to summon, prorogue and dissolve Parliament, which meets annually.

Only since the Act of Union of 1909, when the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, Natal and the Cape Colony were merged in the Union of South Africa has South Africa evolved a united political and economic labor movement. This movement, at least that part of it which represents the coal and metal mining industries, directs its attacks equally against the capitalist exploiters and its colored competitors.

The colored population forms by far the larger portion of the population, 4,700,000 out of less than 6,000,000. According to law they can become neither miners nor engineers. Because diamond mining is a very lucrative employment, the whites of South Africa thus hope to create a monopoly for themselves in this industry. What was done by law in the mining industry, has been accomplished in all other industries, at least wherever skilled labor is employed. The labor union movement, therefore, is white and anti-color.

The founding of the **Labor Party of South Africa** at the end of 1909 seemed to promise much for the future of the labor movement. In 1910 four representatives were elected, and soon after, the important city of Johannesburg went almost completely labor-socialistic at a municipal election. But a bitter struggle soon arose between capital and labor, in which the government under Louis Botha took a frankly one-sided stand. The militia was placed at the disposal of the capitalists to help them win their fight. Sharp conflicts were frequent in 1913. The government sought to end the trouble by deporting, without trial, a number of the leading labor leaders. A general strike was the immediate answer. Bitter retriminations arose in Parliament when Creswell, the leader of the Labor Party, sharply attacked the Botha government. An election held soon after resulted in a gratifying increase for the Labor Party. In the Transvaal, where the strike movement had been most bitter, 23 out of 25 elected deputies were members of the Labor Party. There the vote of the Labor Party was 26,108, of the Conservatives 12,305, of the Nationalists 3,029. In the Transvaal the Parliament consists of only 45 members, so that the Labor Party had the majority and, in consequence, control of the government. When the war broke out the prospects for the general election of 1915 were very bright, but the war caused a split in the movement. Creswell, who was on his way to England to secure the assistance of the Labor movement of Great Britain, returned immediately, joined Louis Botha's army and went with it on its campaign to South West Africa. This called forth decided protests from those members of the working-class who refused to acknowledge an armistice between capital and labor. The dispute culminated in the resignation of twenty of the leading members of the party, among them W. H. Andrews, just before the election of July, 1915. These comrades published a manifesto in which they declared that international solidarity was more important than the triumph of Great Britain's armed forces. Instead of the seven members, who had been members of the last Parliament, only four were returned. Neither "Major" Creswell nor Andrews were re-elected. The Inter-

nationalist and anti-militarist element, under the leadership of Andrews and Ivan Jones, organized the International League, which immediately published a weekly paper, *The International*.

The Labor Unions in South Africa have 100,000 members, and are very strongly organized in the mining, engineering and building trades as well as on the railroads. There are labor unions in all the industries, though some of them are still very weak. Since the outbreak of the war, they are working hand in hand with the Labor Party, the same persons, frequently being members of both party and union executive committees.

The Secretary of the Labor Party is Reginald G. Barlow, Trades Hall, Johannesburg, P. O. Box 4509.

The Secretary of the "International League" is D. Ivan Jones, Trades Hall, Johannesburg, P. O. Box 4179.

## AUSTRALIA.

The Commonwealth of Australia consists of the six original Australian colonies: New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania. Each of these is a self-governing State, except as to the powers reserved to the Confederation. The Commonwealth of Australia was proclaimed at Sydney January 1, 1901. Legislative power is vested in a Federal Parliament, consisting of the King, represented by a Governor-General, a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate consists of 36 Senators, six for each State, chosen for six years. The House of Representatives consists of 75 members, distributed as follows: New South Wales 27; Victoria 22; Queensland 9; South Australia 7; Western Australia 5; and Tasmania 5.

The labor movement in Australia, like that of the mother country travelled, for a long time, in the rut of capitalist politics. But when the Seaman's strike, or correctly speaking, lockout of 1890, showed the necessity of political action on the part of the working-class, the political development of the proletariat of Australia progressed much more rapidly and uniformly than in England itself. The labor unions, which up to that time, had supported the doctrine of no politics in the unions, took in hand the formation of political party organizations in all the States, and soon gained recognition and political influence.

But the Australian Labor Party is by no means a Socialist Party. Though it is more radical than the British Labor Party and goes further in its present demands than the former, neither in its program nor in practice does it demand the socialization of the means of production. On the other hand, the Labor Party has enforced important political and economic reforms, as for instance, woman suffrage, old age pensions, minimum wage laws and the beginnings of a kind

of state Socialism expressed in government control of great monopolies and corporations, with a few attempts toward state ownership.

The growth of the Labor Party of Australia was phenomenally rapid. The following statistics show how, in state and nation, the number of representatives increased from year to year.

### Federal Parliament.

#### Senate:

Year.	Labor.	Anti-Labor.	Total.
1901 .....	8	28	36
1903 .....	14	22	36
1906 .....	15	21	36
1910 .....	23	13	36
1913 .....	29	7	36
1914 .....	31	5	36

#### House of Representatives:

Year.	Labor.	Anti-Labor.	Total.
1901 .....	16	59	75
1903 .....	25	50	75
1906 .....	26	49	75
1910 .....	42	33	75
1913 .....	37	38	75
1914 .....	40	35	75

In 1914 the Labor Party polled 1,040,000 votes, the anti-Labor candidates 933,000. In 1913 the vote had been as follows: Labor Party candidates, 1,004,000 and anti-Labor 887,000 votes. In 1914 the Labor Party had a majority in all states except Victoria. More recently a small majority in Western Australia has become a small minority. As the above tables show, the Labor Party has a majority in the National Parliament, a majority which is considerably larger in the Senate than in the House. After the election, the administration was again carried on by the Labor Party, with Andrew Fisher as Prime Minister for the third time. In 1915 he retired to become High Commissioner for the Commonwealth in London. He was succeeded by Hughes, who had been Attorney-General. The Australian Labor Party had become more radical in the two years before the war, and in consequence lost, at the last election in September, 1914, a large part of its middle class and farmer element. The closer it approached collectivist ideas, particularly when it demanded the nationalization of a number of industries, the greater became the opposition of the strong democratic liberal press, which had tentatively sided with the Labor Party during its more conservative stage. The labor press of Australia is as



yet hardly developed. The labor movement has several official organs, the principal being *The Australian Worker*, Sydney, N. S. W., and *The Queensland Worker*, Brisbane, Q., and also three dailies and several other weekly papers.

Besides the reforms already mentioned, the Labor Party was instrumental in passing a maternity law, providing for the payment of \$25.00 to every mother on the birth of a child. It also deserves credit for the building of a transcontinental nationally owned and operated railway, a tax on land values for the purpose of breaking up large estates, for employers' liability law, for labor invalidity and old age pensions and a number of other social measures. The meagerness of this list, as even the Australian Socialists who are the keenest critics of the Labor Party admit, is to be attributed mainly to the constitutional limitations, which, here, too, serve the purpose of hindering all real progress, while it must be said that the fetish of "practical politics," puts an end to every broadly conceived plan of social improvement. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the Labor Party in its desire to win the support of the farmer element often strove to mask its working class character, and pretended to be a producers' party, which finally stamped it as a middle class movement. Nevertheless it must be said in favor of the Labor Party, that, in spite of all the shortcomings, the educational value of the political labor movement is extraordinary, and that the purely socialistic movement, as represented by the S. L. P. in New South Wales, the Socialist Party of Victoria and the West Australian Socialist Party, all small in number, is gaining greater influence in the Labor Party from year to year.

At the outbreak of the war, the Labor Party at once placed the Fleet of the Commonwealth at England's disposal, and raised an army through voluntary enlistment. Up to July 1916, 325,000 men had volunteered. The Socialists in the Labor Party protested vigorously against supporting British Imperialism. In this they won such a measure of support within the Labor Party that the government found it advisable to curtail the anti-war agitation by a so-called "War Precautions Act," which gave it practically full power to suppress the rights of citizens. This law intended at first to apply only to military questions, soon assumed the character of a wide spread censorship. The Socialist newspapers, the Melbourne *Socialist* and others, suffered bitterly under this curtailment of the right of free press. Free speech was prohibited everywhere. Clashes with the police, who attempted to disturb and disperse peace demonstrations, were frequent. The official Labor Party men, particularly the

ministers and the union heads, are, with notable exceptions, "patriotic."

The Australian labor movement has been in existence many years, although it became strong and influential only in the last decade. Patterned after the British trade unions, it was, in the first 20 years of its existence, on the whole conservative. Only when the capitalists undertook to persecute labor unionists, and a political movement was organized, a more vigorous and more influential labor union movement set in, which soon succeeded in securing important reforms.

The membership of the trade unions has increased as follows:

1894 .....	55,348	1909 .....	273,464
1896 .....	55,566	1910 .....	302,119
1900 .....	84,231	1911 .....	364,732
1906 .....	175,529	1912 .....	433,224
1907 .....	194,602	1913 .....	497,925
1908 .....	240,475	1914 .....	523,271

The headquarters of the different political and economic organizations of Australia are:

New South Wales: E. J. Kavanagh, Labor Party of N. S. W., Trades and Industrial Hall, Goulburn St., Sydney.  
Political Labor League: P. Evans, MacDonell House, Sydney.

Queensland: Labor Party: Trades Hall, Brisbane.

South Australia: T. B. Merry, United Trades and Labor Council, Grote St., Adelaide.

Western Australia: A. McCallum, Trades Hall, Beaufort St., Perth.

Victoria: Trades Hall, Carlton, Melbourne.

Socialist Labor Party: Secretary J. O. Moroney, 16 George St., West Sydney.

Socialist Party of Victoria: Office Socialist Hall, 283 Elizabeth St., Melbourne.

West Australian Socialist Party: 50 Nelson Crescent East Perth.

## NEW ZEALAND.

New Zealand is a self-governing Dominion under British Crown. The Government is vested in a Governor, representing the King, acting by and with the advice of ministers responsible to Parliament, of which they must be members. Parliament consists of two Houses: a Legislative Council, nominated by the Governor, and a House of Representatives elected on a thoroughly democratic one-adult-one-vote franchise.

New Zealand is reputed to be the most advanced country in the world, as "A Social Laboratory," as the land of *Socialisme Sans Phrase*, but there was not till about 1912

any Socialist movement strictly speaking. The labor legislation of which New Zealand has been the pioneer has not been the result of an organized Labor movement. The late Richard Seddon, who became Premier in 1893, had begun life as a miner and till his death thirteen years later was kept in power by the workers, who voted as Liberals and Radicals. The chief results of the Seddon régime were the establishment of compulsory conciliation and arbitration for the settlement of labor disputes, the taxation of land values, the break-up of big estates and the consequent growth of the class of small farmers, the grant of women's suffrage, old age pensions, and the extension of the State's economic functions, particularly in the direction of public ownership.

Many strikes and attempts by the workers to defy the awards of the Arbitration courts and the beginnings of Labor, Socialist, and even Syndicalist groups were the first signs that the workers were becoming class-conscious and preparing for the class-struggle. Pastoral and agricultural industries, however, are the chief forms of wealth production; manufactures occupy a secondary position.

In 1912, under the guidance of W. T. Mills, a member of the Socialist Party of America, the **United Labor Party** was formed, consisting of affiliated trades-councils and Labor Party branches and unions. Its organization and policy were greatly similar to those of British Labor Party. But outside the new party were the Federation of Labor, with syndicalist tendencies, and the Social Democratic Party. In July, 1913, a congress of all three bodies was held to re-organize the movement on more advanced lines. The result was the formation of the United Federation of Labor for industrial purposes and of the Social Democratic Party for political purposes. The objective of the Federation of Labor is "to bring about a co-operative commonwealth based upon industrial democracy." At the general election in December, 1914 the votes obtained by the three parties were:

Tories .....	226,795
Liberals .....	204,294
Labor-Socialist .....	51,088

The Labor-Socialist vote was made up of the following:

Social Democratic Party .....	21,457
Social Democratic Party and Dunedin Trades and Labor Council .....	7,677
Wellington Labor Representation Committee (Labor- Liberal vote) .....	10,167
Other Labor candidates .....	10,609
Independent Labor candidates .....	1,178

Social Democratic and Labor Total .....	51,088
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The growth of trade unionism is shown in the following table:

At December 31 of each year	No. of unions	No. of members
1905 .....	261	29,869
1906 .....	274	34,978
1907 .....	310	45,614
1908 .....	325	49,347
1909 .....	308	54,519
1910 .....	308	57,091
1911 .....	307	55,629
1912 .....	322	60,622
1913 .....	372	71,544
1914 .....	403	73,991

At a joint conference of the United Federation of Labor, the Social Democratic Party and the Labor Representation Committee of New Zealand, held in June, 1916, the **New Zealand Labor Party** was founded. The program of the new party states as its final aim: "The socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange."

### THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S INTERNATIONAL.

In every country where the Socialist movement has taken a firm foothold young people's organizations have sprung up. Some of the organizations are still weak and ineffectual, others have gained an important position in the labor movement. The young people's movement is usually strong where there is a strong general party movement, i. e., where the Party itself has the strength and the time to help the younger generation in their work. The strongest movements are therefore in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries. Before the war the **International Bureau of the Young Socialist Movement** was in Vienna, the head being Dannenberg, one of the clearest, most revolutionary men of the Austrian movement. Since 1913 the Young People's International has had its headquarters in Zurich, with Muenzenberg as secretary. It is publishing a paper *Youth-International* (*Jugend-Internationale*), which appears once in three months, and whose special task is the re-establishment of international relations. On April 4, 5 and 6, 1915, an international Conference was held in Berne, Switzerland, with delegates from Denmark, Sweden, Italy, Russia, Poland, Holland, Bulgaria, Switzerland and Germany. The young

people of Europe are today among the staunchest supporters of those socialist groups which are demanding the resumption of the International relations between the Socialist movements of the belligerent nations.

The **Italian Young People** numbered 10,000 members before the war. They have suffered perhaps the most heavily for their solidarity. Even before Italy entered the war numerous young comrades were imprisoned because they participated in anti-war demonstrations. More than one has paid with his blood for his unshaken loyalty to the international movement. After the war broke out arrests for socialist peace propaganda became still more frequent. Two thousand of the 10,000 members were called to arms. The organ of the Italian movement, *L'Avanguardia*, is subject to the severest kind of censorship. But in spite of everything, young socialists maintain their faith in the final victory of the proletarian International.

The same is true of **Austria** where in recent years one of the soundest and strongest young people's organizations has developed. Before the war, the Austrian Young People's organ *Der Jugendliche Arbeiter* (The Young Worker) had a circulation of 26,500 for a membership of 14,014. Of the latter 2,335 have been called to the colors. This loss has already been partly made good by 2,744 new members, so that to-day the membership of the Austrian organization is bigger than before the war. The *Jugendliche Arbeiter* wages an unceasing battle against war, in spite of the censors to suppress whatever may be against the interests of the Austrian war lords.

In **Germany** the Young People's movement, even before the war, had many difficulties to overcome, because political activity or affiliations for a young man under 21 years of age are strictly forbidden. The general party organizations therefore completely control the business of the Young Socialist movement. Those comrades who to-day are suffering prison terms in Germany for their peace propaganda are practically all former members of the Young People's movement. The German Y. P. organ *Die Arbeiter-Jugend* (The Workmen's Youth) had, before the war, a circulation of more than 80,000. In 297 towns, young people's libraries have been collected, 5,500 lectures (1913), 1,859 concert and theatre performances, and other entertainments arranged with carefully selected programs, and 6,300 excursions and visits to places of educational interest (as museums, etc.) were arranged. In 1913, the party gave \$67,000 for these purposes.

In **England** there were no Young People's organizations before the war, but the former pupils of the Socialist Sunday Schools showed that they knew how to fight for peace,



About 500 of them were imprisoned and tortured because they refused absolutely to do anything that could be construed as helping in the war.

In **France** a few beginnings had been made before the war and here, too, the young people were among the few who resisted the chauvinistic spirit of the time.

In **Belgium**, where there were a splendid Socialist Young People's organization before the war, all socialist propaganda has become impossible through the German occupation of the whole country.

In **Holland** there are two Young Socialist movements just as there are two Party organizations. This makes efficient work exceedingly difficult. The group with its organ *The Young Socialist*, has about 300, the group following the S. D. L. P. with its organ *Het Young Volk*, about 1,500 members.

In **Bulgaria** the Young People have 400 members; there are also beginnings of a movement in **Greece, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Argentine** and the **United States**. (In regard to the last named see the section on the Socialist movement in the United States.)

The chief centres of the Socialist Young People's movement, apart from the new International Bureau in Switzerland are the three Scandinavian nations, Norway, Sweden and Denmark. **Norway** has 6,200 members in 120 sections, constituting a most important factor in the fight against militarism and opportunism. **Denmark** has 7,300 members in 82 sections, among them 1,300 girls and 2,000 apprentices under 18 years. As soon as the members reach their twenty-first year they are transferred to the Party. **Sweden's** Young People number more than 8,400 members and are also in the forefront of the fight against nationalism and militarism. The splendid work of our young **Finnish** comrades is being brutally wiped out by the Russian government. But just as soon as one organization is suppressed, the Social Democratic Party starts a new one. How strong and forceful the Young People's movement in the Scandinavian countries is, can be seen from the fact, that in Norway and Sweden laws have been passed to stop the anti-militarist propaganda of the Socialist Young People's organizations. But the young people have proved in the past that prison walls cannot stop them from expressing their opinions, and will hardly be able to do so in the future.

To sustain the International relations between the young people of the various countries, an international organ has been established. On September 25, 1916, the young people of all nations will conduct peace demonstrations throughout the world.

The International Secretary is **A. Muenzenberg, Werdstr. 40, Zurich, Switzerland.**

## IN MEMORIAM.

## JAMES CONNOLLY.

James Connolly, well known in Ireland and the United States as a labor organizer and Socialist, was executed in May, 1916, because of the part he played in the Irish revolt. Connolly, who was an Irishman by birth, spent some years in America, where he was editor of *The Harp* from 1907 to 1909. On his return to Ireland he worked to organize an Irish working class movement. He helped the movement which led to the Dublin uprising because it was inspired by the spirit of labor revolt. He was one of those who signed the proclamation setting up an Irish Republic, and in common with all the signatories was tried by court martial for so doing. As he had been wounded in the fighting in which he took a prominent part, he was not immediately executed. In the short interval, it was hoped that the British Government would have commuted the death sentence; but despite the terrible vengeance which had already been wreaked upon the Irish Revolutionists, no mercy was shown.

Connolly's writings and speeches testified to his devotion to the international Socialist movement and to the principles for which it stands. He never failed to impress upon his fellow workers in Ireland the need of Socialist propaganda. Those who knew Connolly mourn his loss because of his high qualities of intellect, honesty, courage, and willingness to sacrifice himself for the sake of his oppressed fellow beings.

## WALTER CRANE. (1845-1915)

Walter Crane, one of the world's leading artists, joined the Socialist Party in his youth, at a time when interest in Socialism in England was at low ebb. His presence, with that of William Morris, brought into the movement a spiritual element which attracted many who were uncharmed by the promises of economists and politicians.

Crane's rank in the world of art is beyond dispute, but a fuller discussion of his views and artistic achievements is here out of place. For many years he contributed to the London "Justice" a new design with each recurring May day. Many of his best drawings are collected in the well-known portfolio "Cartoons for the Cause."

It is well for us now, when Socialism is starting on a new era, when the labors before us seem endless, to see the vision of the future as Morris and Crane saw it. Then faith will yet be justified.

**KEIR HARDIE (1856-1915).**

Keir Hardie was born at Leg-Rannoch, Holytown, Scotland, on August 15, 1856. His youth was an extremely difficult one. At the age of seven he began to work in the mines, and until he was twenty-four he remained a manual laborer. Whatever education he acquired in these early years he owed to his mother, and to his own passion for knowledge. He soon became a leader in his union, and in 1888 he stood for Parliament, backed by his union. He was defeated. He took part in the founding of the Independent Labor Party, and established the *Labor Leader*. He entered Parliament in 1892, making a stir by his unconventional attire and behavior. In 1900 he was returned from Merthyr Tydvil, in Wales, and held this seat until his death.

John Spargo writes in the *New Review*:

"It is not too much to say of Hardie that of all the great leaders of the modern Socialist movement he most clearly represented in his person its proletarian character. For he was of the working-class, bone of its bone, flesh of its flesh, blood of its blood. Unlike too many who have been called to positions of eminence, he never forsook the class in which he was cradled. He strove manfully to rise with his class, but was too loyal and too great of mind and heart to rise out of his class.

"He was not a great theorist, in this respect being utterly unlike both Bebel and Jaurès, with whom his name will forever be associated. But in some respects he was a more practical leader and statesman than either of them. He paid scant heed to theories and formulae—and that was why many of us very often failed to understand him. He was, indeed, a fighter and not a maker of phrases.

"If his death was tragic, let us never forget that his life was glorious. He personified the aspirations and faith of the proletariat."

**JEAN JAURES (1859-1914).**

A few days after the outbreak of the great war the world was startled by the dramatic death of the leader of the French Socialist movement, Jean Jaurès.

When the clouds of the approaching world conflict were assembling, Jaurès was active in the movement to avert the catastrophe. The great Socialist leader, the tribune of the French workers, the arch enemy of militarism and war was in the way of the reactionary powers of France.

The voice of protest which Jaures raised in common with the Socialists of the world, was silenced by the bullet of an

assassin. The brilliant champion of the workers fell a martyr in the cause of peace during the first days of the European conflagration.

Jean Jaurès sprang from the middle class, but no one worked harder than he for the emancipation of the working class. He was well educated, and in his youth taught philosophy at Allié and Toulouse. Politics, especially radicalism, attracted him, and in 1885 he was returned to the Chamber as a Radical Republican. In 1889, after his defeat by a monarchist, he became a Socialist. In 1893 he announced himself as a socialist candidate and was elected by an overwhelming majority.

Jaurès was a man of extraordinary capacity for work. It is doubtful if he had an equal as an orator, and his abilities as a debater were hardly less remarkable. His activities were manifold, including speaking, writing, editing "*L'Humanité*,"—the Socialist Party organ,—leading strikes and taking part in party controversies, besides attending assiduously to his duties as deputy.

He was continually in the thick of party affairs, and even when he disagreed with the policy adopted by the party, he was altogether loyal. At the time of the Millerand controversy he opposed Bebel at the International Socialist Congress, in Amsterdam, contending that in a republic, compromise with other parties is possible. But when the vote went against him, he gracefully gave in to the decree of the Congress.

Jaurès was the leading figure at International Socialist congresses, and was recognized as one of the foremost Socialists of the world.

With the passing of Jaurès the International Socialist movement in general and the French movement in particular have sustained a great loss.

### EDOUARD VAILLANT. (1840-1915.)

Edouard Vaillant, one of the last of the Old Guard, died after a long and fruitful life on Dec. 19, 1915. Born in Viersen in 1840, Vaillant at the age of 17 obtained the matriculation degree and that of Doctor of Science at 25. His activities extend back to the Franco-Prussian War, and to the exciting days of the Commune that followed. He took part in the Lausanne Congress of the old "International," and spread its principles among the workers. He was elected to Parliament in 1871, and served on the executive commission of the Commune. He had to flee Paris the same year, and when he returned after the Amnesty of 1880 he founded the Journal "*Ni Dieu, ni Maître*." He was subsequently

elected to the Chamber many times. At the International Congresses Vaillant was a permanent figure.

The French government took official part in Vaillant's funeral. Viviani, Combes and others of the Cabinet were present. The President sent his representatives. The Socialist Parliamentary group as well as other socialists were there in large numbers.

Vaillant was violently opposed to war. He was famed for his discourses in the Chamber of Deputies in support of a limited period of army service. He favored a democratic militia instead of a standing army. He was co-author with Keir Hardie of the resolution that was to have been presented to the International Socialist Congress in 1914, calling for a general strike of workers in munition factories to prevent war.

Professor Richard T. Ely in "Socialism and Social Reform," p. 19.

"Socialism is that contemplated system of industrial society which proposes the abolition of private property in the great material instruments of production, and the substitution therefor of collective property; and advocates the collective management of production, together with the distribution of social income by society, and private property in the larger proportion of this social income."

Professor Henry R. Seager, in "Principles of Economics," p. 613.

"Socialism . . . proposes to substitute for private management of industry, state management and for private ownership of the instruments of production, collective ownership."

Professor F. W. Taussig, in "Principles of Economics," Vol. II, p. 443.

"Socialism proposes to do away with the system of private property, and especially with that system so far as it leads to great inequalities. It proposes, above all, to do away with the leisure class, and with incomes from interest and rent,—to allow only incomes secured from labor."

Morris Hillquit in "Socialism; Promise or Menace," p. 72.

"Socialism demands the collective ownership and social operation of such industries as depend on the use of social tools and are organized on the basis of collective work; it is not concerned with purely individual pursuits or vocations."



## PART FIVE.

# SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

## WOMAN AND CHILD LABOR.

BY HELEN L. SUMNER.

The problems of woman's work and of child labor are entirely different. The evils connected with the gainful labor of women, except married women and mothers, are essentially the same as those connected with the gainful labor of men. They are primarily physical overstrain, bad working conditions, long hours, and low wages. The evils connected with the gainful labor of children, on the other hand, are primarily associated with the exposure of immature human bodies and minds to conditions which render impossible complete physical and mental development. Nevertheless, these two subjects are so frequently treated together, both in statistical studies and in legislation, that it is convenient to discuss them together here.

In discussing child labor most writers consider only the work of young children,—i. e., of those under 16 years of age. The younger the child undoubtedly the greater the evil of premature labor. But the problems of child labor are not by any means exclusively those connected with the labor of young children. Physiologically and legally young persons under 21 years of age are different from adults. The growth of the human body is not completed until some time between twenty and twenty-five years of age, and up to that time strength is needed, not only for repairing ordinary wastage as in the case of adults, but for physical and mental growth. During these years of growth the mind is plastic and nature indicates that labor should be primarily educational, preparatory for adult life, and only secondarily, if at all, gainful. Legally, too, all persons under 21 years of age are under certain disabilities as to their freedom of action, and are therefore held to be subject to special protection on the part of the state. For these reasons special consideration should be given to the group of young people from 16 to 20 years of age who are passing through the most critical stage of their industrial careers nominally under the guardianship of the state.

### More Girls Employed.

In 1910, as shown in Table I, nearly one out of every four females ten years of age and over, or 23.4 per cent., were engaged in some gainful occupation. This was a decided increase over 1900, when less than one out of every five, or 18.8 per cent., were gainfully employed. This increase occurred

in every age group, but was most marked in the group of girls from 16 to 20 years of age, nearly two out of every five of whom were at work in 1910. A decided increase also took place, however, in the proportion of little girls at work. In 1910 about one out of every five girls 14 to 15 years of age and even of the girls 10 to 13 years of age, 8 per cent. were gainfully employed. The total number of girls under 14 years of age who were at work increased from 280,831 in 1900 to 350,140 in 1910.

Among the boys the proportion of gainful workers in 1910, as shown also in Table I, was decidedly higher than among the girls, and in general had increased since 1900, though not so much as among the girls. But in 1910 nearly four boys out of every five who were 16 to 20 years of age, more than two out of five of those 14 to 15 years of age, and 16.6 per cent. of those 10 to 13 years of age, were at work. The total number of boys under 14 years of age who were at work increased from 585,687 in 1900 to 609,030 in 1910.

The proportion of women and of children, both boys and girls, engaged in gainful occupations is evidently increasing. Even of the young children under 14, whose labor has been prohibited in most states and factories, both the number and the proportion at work have steadily mounted higher.

The increase in the proportion of females 10 years of age and over at work between 1900 and 1910, as shown in Table II, took place in all the various groups of the population, i. e. among the native white of native parentage, the native white of foreign or mixed parentage, the foreign-born white, the Negro, and the other elements. The increase was greatest, however, for the negro females, considerably more than half of whom were at work in 1910 as compared with about one-fourth of the native white females of foreign or mixed parentage, about one-fifth of the foreign born white females, and considerably less than one-fifth of the native white females of native parentage.

### Women Workers in Agriculture.

As for the occupations of the women workers of the United States, Table III shows that the greatest increase in the proportion of female as compared with male workers has taken place in domestic and personal service, where it is accounted for largely by a change in classification adopted by the Census in 1910: in trade and transportation where new opportunities are continually opening to women; and in agricultural pursuits where a general increase has occurred throughout the whole United States. A large proportion of this increase in agricultural pursuits, however, was confined to the South, to the Negroes, and to girls 10 to 15 years of

age. The proportion which females form of the total force of gainful workers 10 years of age and over increased from 18.3 per cent. in 1900 to 21.2 per cent. in 1910.

A better classification of occupations is given in Table IV, which shows for all occupations and for the groups of occupations there given, the number of males and of females gainfully occupied in 1910 and the per cent. which the workers of each sex constituted of the total. In discussing this table the Census (Thirteenth Census, Vol. IV, Occupations, p. 57) says: "These figures show that in 1910 domestic and personal service was the only general division of occupations in which the women outnumbered the men, there being in this general division more than two women employed to each man. In professional service there were four women to every five men, a large proportion of the women being teachers. In clerical occupations one-third of the persons were women. In manufacturing and mechanical industries women constituted one in six, in agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry one in seven, and in trade one in eight of the gainful workers; they constituted only 4 per cent. of the persons engaged in transportation, 3 per cent. of the persons engaged in public service, and but one-tenth of 1 per cent. of the persons engaged in the extraction of minerals."

### Wives Who Must Toil.

Little is known concerning the gainful employment of married women, as the Census has not published the data which it has gathered upon this subject. The Bureau of Labor Statistics found in its investigation of woman and child labor in 1907 to 1909, however, "that of 27 industries studied only three were found in which the proportion of married women among those 20 years of age and over was under 10 per cent., and from this it ran up to two-fifths, and even in one industry to three-fifths." In the cotton, clothing, glass and silk industries the names of women and children were taken from the pay rolls of establishments and visits were made to the homes to secure data as to the amount and sources of the family income. Table V shows the extent to which the married women of these families were employed. Says the Bureau of Labor Statistics report: "When all the female employees of the separate industries were considered, it was found that about one-eighth were married, the proportion running up in single industries to two-fifths or over. When a number of families, selected on the basis of having at least one woman or child employed in a given industry, were studied, it was found that from something over one-eighth to one-fifth of the mothers were industrially employed. The two studies point to the same conclusion—that the

married woman is by no means an exceptional figure in the industrial world."

Whether married or single, the wages paid women wage-earners are extremely low. Says the Bureau of Labor Statistics report already quoted: "One of the most significant facts brought out by the investigation in practically all industries was the large proportion of woman wage earners who were paid very low wages—wages in many cases inadequate to supply a reasonable standard of living for women dependent upon their own earnings for support." Table VI gives the exact percentages of women 16 years of age and over in the four great industries, cotton, men's ready-made clothing, glass, and silk whose earnings fell below \$6 and \$8. In these industries, it appears, from two-fifths to two-thirds earned less than \$6, and from two-thirds to more than nine-tenths less than \$8 in a representative week. Practically the same story is told for twenty-three other industries in Table VII.

### Child Labor Problems in Agriculture.

The proportion of children at work differs widely in different parts of the country. Table VIII, for example, shows that in 1910, whereas in the East South Central division more than half of the boys and more than one-fourth of the girls from 10 to 15 years of age were engaged in gainful occupations, in the Pacific States only 8.1 per cent. of the boys and 2.2 per cent. of the girls were at work.

Numerically the problem of child labor is greatest in agriculture. Of all the children at work in 1910 more than seven out of every ten were engaged in agricultural pursuits. Moreover, though both the total number and the proportion of young children at work increased from 1900 to 1910, this increase, as is shown in Table IX, was solely in agricultural pursuits. This table shows, indeed, that a marked decrease took place between 1900 and 1910 in the number, both of boys and of girls, engaged in non-agricultural pursuits. Thus the problem of child labor has shifted from the occupations where it has been prohibited or regulated by law to the one great unregulated industry—agriculture.

The agricultural labor of children is to a great extent a problem of the South where the tenant and crop-mortgage system of farming forces families to put their children to work as soon as they can hold a hoe. Table X shows the contrast between the North and the South in the employment of boys and girls from 10 to 15 years of age on farms. In some of the northern states, notably Vermont, it appears that a considerable number of boys are employed in agriculture, but very few girls, whereas in each of the eleven southern states given, except Kentucky for girls, from 75 to 95

per cent., both of the boys and of the girls engaged in gainful occupations, were in agricultural pursuits.

The evils of child labor in agricultural pursuits are little known because the subject has never been investigated upon any large scale. About four-fifths of the children engaged in agriculture in 1910, however, were at work on the home farm. Nevertheless, the labor is hard, the hours are long, and the children are frequently exposed to bad weather. As Mr. Clopper and Mr. Hine have said in their report on "Child Labor in the Sugar-Beet Fields of Colorado," published by the National Child Labor Committee: "Nearly three-fourths of our child laborers are engaged in agricultural pursuits, yet the movement for child labor reform, which has been so wide-spread and determined in the past quarter century, has not even touched this greatest field of all. It has resulted in protective legislation concerning employment in mines, factories, mills and mercantile establishments, but the only legislation which in any way protects children from premature or excessive work on farms is the compulsory education law, and this is effective only during certain hours of certain days for the school term—from five to nine months of the year. Moreover, the greatest agricultural activity comes usually in the school vacation period when there are no restrictions whatever upon the labor of children on farms." According to estimates made by the superintendents of schools in thirteen counties of Colorado, in these counties alone at least 5,000 children under 16 lose from two to twenty-two weeks of schooling because of work in the beet fields.

### Conditions in Cotton Mills.

As for the work of children in manufacturing industries, though decreasing, this is still a serious problem. In manufacturing and mechanical industries in 1910 the Census reported 5,008 children from 10 to 13 years of age, and 27,657 children 14 and 15 years of age. The principal industries in which these children were employed, with the number of girls and boys of the different age groups engaged in each, are given in Table XI. The cotton mills, with all their bad conditions of noise, dust and humidity, evidently employ many more young children than any other manufacturing industry.

Of conditions in the cotton mills, which employ large numbers of women as well as of children, the report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics says: "The death rate is much higher among women working in cotton mills than among women not so employed, and . . . female operatives are especially susceptible to tuberculosis. . . . The work done by children and most of that done by women is of ■ monoton-



ous and deadening character, requiring no initiative and giving no general training. At the same time much of it demands close attention, and is, therefore, exhausting. The scale of earnings is low, and usually the combined wages of the family are required to meet the family expenses."

### The Age Limit.

In manufacturing industries, however, and to a lesser degree in practically all other occupations except agricultural pursuits, the number of child workers is limited by laws prohibiting labor under a certain minimum age and regulating it under a still higher age. According to the report of the U. S. Children's Bureau on Child Labor Legislation in the United States (Bureau Publication No. 10, Industrial Series No. 1), the minimum age on January 1, 1916, for employment in factories was 14 in all States and Territories except Ohio where it was 15 for boys and 16 for girls; California and Michigan where it was 15; Nevada and Texas where, though the age was 14, it applied only to employment during school hours; Mississippi where it was 12 for boys but 14 for girls; Alabama (14 after Sept. 1, 1916) and North Carolina where it was 13; South Carolina where it was 12; Porto Rico where it was 10; and New Mexico, Wyoming, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands where there was no age limit whatever. But for work during vacations the age limit was 12 in California, Colorado, Idaho and Oregon, and 10 for boys in Arizona. In case of poverty it was 14 in California, 12 in Georgia and in the District of Columbia, and apparently there was no minimum age for poor children in Delaware or South Dakota. Children over 12 could work also in North Carolina in an apprenticeship capacity if they had attended school 4 months during the year; in Virginia they could work on a "release" from a court; and in Washington they could work in occupations not considered "dangerous or injurious to health or morals." Even in factories, therefore, at the beginning of 1916, children could legally work at 12 years of age and in some cases even younger, under certain conditions or during certain parts of the year, in some twenty-one out of fifty-three states or other political divisions.

### Hours of Labor.

The hours of labor of women as well as of children are often limited by law, and in some states night work is prohibited. As in the case of the minimum age all these regulations apply more frequently to manufacturing establishments than to any other places of employment. On January 1, 1916, no woman was permitted to work in a factory more than eight hours a day and forty-eight a week in California, District of Columbia, or Porto Rico; eight a day in Colo-

rado; nine ■ day and fifty-four ■ week in Arkansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, or Utah; nine a day in Montana, or Oklahoma; ten a day and fifty-four a week in Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island; ten a day and fifty-five a week in Connecticut, Delaware, and Wisconsin; ten a day and fifty-six a week in Wyoming; ten a day and sixty a week in Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, New Jersey, Oregon and Texas; ten ■ day in Illinois, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Virginia; ten and a half a day and fifty-seven a week in Tennessee; ten and a quarter a day and fifty-five a week in New Hampshire; eleven a day and fifty-eight a week in Vermont; eleven ■ day and sixty a week in South Carolina; and sixty a week in Georgia and North Carolina. In Washington a commission had power to fix hours. The only states or territories in which night work of adult women was prohibited were Connecticut (where the law is ineffective by reason of its wording), Indiana, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Porto Rico.

In most states women are not permitted to work in mines, and in some states they cannot be employed in occupations which require them to stand constantly. In Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York and Vermont in 1916 they were not permitted to work for a certain period before or after childbirth.

All the states and other political divisions had in January, 1916, laws limiting the hours of labor of children under sixteen in factories except Alaska, Hawaii, New Mexico, the Philippine Islands and West Virginia. Montana and Texas only regulated the hours of girls by the same provisions as for women. Porto Rico had a seven hour day and a forty-two hour week. But the most common hours permitted children under 16 were eight a day and forty-eight a week, which was the limit in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, District of Columbia, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi (in cotton and knitting mills boys could work ten hours a day and sixty a week), Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Wisconsin. Of the other states the legal hours for children under 16 were nine a day and fifty a week in Vermont; nine a day and fifty-one a week in Pennsylvania; nine ■ day and fifty-four a week in Florida, Idaho and Indiana; fifty-four a week in Delaware, and Utah (for boys only under 14); ten a day and fifty-four a week in Michigan and Rhode Island; ten a day and fifty-five a week in Connecticut; ten a day and fifty-six a week in Wyoming; fifty-seven a week in Tennessee; ten a day and fifty-eight a week

in Maine; ten a day and sixty a week in Louisiana, and South Dakota; ten a day in Maryland, Oregon, and Virginia; sixty a week in Georgia, and North Carolina; ten and a fourth a day and fifty-five a week in New Hampshire; and eleven a day and sixty a week in Alabama and South Carolina. In Washington, as in the case of women, hours were regulated by a commission and not by the State Legislature. Night work in factories was prohibited for children under 16 in all the states and other political divisions except Alaska, Georgia, Maine, Maryland, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, the Philippine Islands, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, West Virginia, and Wyoming; but in Hawaii only night work of girls was forbidden.

The efficacy of this legislation depends, however, upon its enforcement, and whether or not it is adequately enforced depends in great measure upon the methods used in its administration. In most states employment certificates are issued by local school authorities, but in Connecticut they are issued by the State Board of Education, in New York by local health departments, in Maryland by the State Bureau of Statistics and Information, and in Wisconsin by the Industrial Commission or by a local judge, while in Virginia any notary public can issue an employment certificate. To see that children are not employed under the legal minimum age or without certificates under the regulated age, two agencies are generally depended upon, first, local school authorities in their function of enforcing through attendance officers the compulsory education law, and second, a state department of inspection or of labor enforcing through inspectors all or most of the labor laws of the state.

### **The Federal Law.**

A federal act prohibiting the shipment in interstate commerce of manufactured goods produced in whole or in part by the labor of children under 14 years of age or of children under 16 who have worked more than eight hours a day is to go into effect in 1917. The shipment of the products of mines and quarries in which children under 16 are employed is also prohibited. This act is to be enforced by the Secretary of Labor under regulations to be framed by the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Commerce and the Attorney General.

TABLE I.

## Distribution of Persons by Occupations, 1900 and 1910.

Census Year and Age period	Males 10 years of age and over			Females 10 years of age and over		
	Total Number	Engaged in gain- ful occupations		Total Number	Engaged in gain- ful occupations	
		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent
1910						
10 years and over	37,027,558	30,091,564	81.3	34,552,712	8,075,772	23.4
10 to 13 years..	3,665,779	609,030	16.6	3,593,239	286,946	8.0
14 to 15 years..	1,798,449	744,109	41.4	1,770,898	350,140	19.8
16 to 20 years..	4,564,179	3,615,623	79.2	4,632,821	1,847,600	39.9
21 to 44 years <sup>1</sup> .	17,849,843	17,262,209	96.7	16,331,449	4,302,969	26.3
45 years and over	9,149,308	7,860,593	85.9	8,224,305	1,288,117	15.7
1900						
10 years and over	29,703,440	23,753,836	80.0	28,246,384	5,319,397	18.8
10 to 13 years..	3,289,701	585,687	17.8	3,221,969	204,936	6.4
14 to 15 years..	1,562,726	678,724	43.4	1,538,856	280,831	18.2
16 to 20 years..	3,716,714	2,855,425	76.8	3,837,851	1,237,967	32.3
21 to 44 years <sup>1</sup> .	14,113,999	13,463,704	95.4	13,187,534	2,759,546	20.9
45 years and over	7,020,300	6,170,296	87.9	6,460,174	836,117	12.9

<sup>1</sup> Includes persons of unknown age.Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV.  
Occupations, p. 69.

TABLE II.

Distribution of Persons Engaged in Gainful Occupations  
by Nativity, 1900 and 1910.

Class of population	Both sexes	1910		Both sexes	1900	
		Male	Female		Male	Female
All classes .....	53.3	81.3	23.4	50.2	80.0	18.8
Native white—native parent- age .....	48.4	78.5	17.1	45.8	77.3	13.0
Native white—foreign or mixed parentage .....	50.4	76.5	24.6	48.5	75.4	21.7
Foreign born white .....	60.3	90.0	21.7	57.3	89.7	19.1
Negro .....	71.0	87.4	54.7	62.2	84.1	40.7
Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other .....	61.1	80.8	17.6	59.2	80.0	14.2

Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV.  
Occupations, p. 65.

Every new labor paper established is a new outpost of the workers' army, a guidon planted nearer the goal.

TABLE III.

Distribution of Persons Engaged in Gainful Occupations,  
1900 and 1910.

Census year and general division of occupations	Total	Male		Female	
		Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.
1910					
All occupations .....	38,167,336	30,091,564	78.8	8,075,772	21.2
Agricultural pursuits .....	12,567,925	10,760,875	85.6	1,807,050	14.4
Professional service .....	1,825,127	1,151,709	63.1	673,418	36.9
Domestic and personal service .....	5,361,033	2,740,176	51.1	2,620,857	48.9
Trade and transportation...	7,605,730	6,403,378	84.2	1,202,352	15.8
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits .....	10,807,521	9,035,426	83.6	1,772,095	16.4
1900					
All occupations .....	29,073,233	23,753,836	81.7	5,319,397	18.3
Agricultural pursuits .....	10,381,765	9,404,429	90.6	977,336	9.4
Professional service .....	1,258,538	827,941	65.8	430,597	34.2
Domestic and personal service .....	5,580,657	3,485,208	62.5	2,095,449	37.5
Trade and transportation...	4,766,964	4,263,617	89.4	503,347	10.6
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits .....	7,085,309	5,772,641	81.5	1,312,668	18.5

Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV.  
Occupations, p. 57.

TABLE IV.

## Distribution of Persons by Occupations, 1910.

General division of occupations	Total 1910	Male		Female	
		Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.
All occupations .....	38,167,336	30,091,564	78.8	8,075,772	21.2
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry .....	12,659,203	10,851,702	85.7	1,807,501	14.3
Extraction of mineral .....	964,824	963,730	99.9	1,094	0.1
Manufacturing and mechanical industries .....	10,658,881	8,837,901	82.9	1,820,980	17.1
Transportation .....	2,637,671	2,531,075	96.0	106,596	4.0
Trade .....	3,614,670	3,146,582	87.1	468,088	12.9
Public service (not elsewhere classified) .....	459,291	445,733	97.0	13,558	3.0
Professional service .....	1,663,569	929,684	55.9	733,885	44.1
Domestic and personal service .....	3,772,174	1,241,328	32.9	2,530,846	67.1
Clerical occupations .....	1,737,053	1,143,829	65.8	593,224	34.2

Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV.  
Occupations, p. 57.



TABLE V.

Number of Families with Mothers Living with Family, and  
Number and Per Cent. of Such Families with  
Mothers Gainfully Employed,  
by Industries.

Industry	Families having mothers living with family		
	Total	Number in which mother was gainfully employed	Per cent. in which mother was gainfully employed
Cotton:			
New England group ...	794	163	20.5
Southern group .....	1,518	252	16.6
Men's ready-made clothing..	2,204	948	43.0
Glass .....	2,087	291	13.9
Silk .....	1,837	263	14.3

Summary of the Report on Conditions of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 175, p. 18.

TABLE VI.

Per Cent. of Women 16 Years of Age and Over Earning  
Under \$6 and Under \$8 in a Representative Week.

Industry	Total number	Per cent. earning	
		Under \$6	Under \$8
Cotton:			
New England .....	13,744	38.0	67.4
Southern .....	12,654	68.0	92.5
Men's ready-made clothing	10,149	49.0	73.1
Glass .....	2,774	64.0	91.2
Silk .....	8,596	45.4	71.1

Summary of the Report on Conditions of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 175, p. 22.

The importance of the demand for "recognition of the union" may be very well judged by the amount of opposition it encounters from the employing class.

TABLE VII.

Per Cent. of Women 16 Years of Age and Over Earning Under \$6 and Under \$8 in a Representative Week.

Industry	Total Number	Per cent. earning	
		Under \$6	Under \$8
Canning and preserving, fruits and vegetables	449	59.2	93.5
Canning and preserving, oysters	155	99.4	100.0
Cans and boxes, tin	225	50.2	79.5
Cigar boxes	335	61.8	84.5
Cigarettes	1,071	33.1	75.4
Cigars	5,994	39.3	71.3
Clocks and watches	696	33.5	72.3
Confectionery	1,948	55.6	81.3
Core making	307	22.1	61.9
Corsets	2,789	29.7	58.9
Crackers and biscuits	1,273	54.0	82.0
Hardware, etc.	803	57.9	88.2
Hosiery and knit goods	7,251	31.7	64.0
Jewelry	129	31.8	67.4
Needles and pins	427	27.2	61.6
Nuts, bolts and screws	433	61.7	92.1
Paper boxes	2,213	40.1	74.5
Pottery	503	45.5	65.8
Rubber and elastic goods	233	28.8	56.7
Shirts, overalls, etc.	2,371	55.5	89.9
Stamped and enameled ware	992	45.0	72.7
Tobacco and snuff	3,670	55.6	79.7
Woolen and worsted goods	3,915	29.7	68.9
Total	38,182	41.1	72.7

Summary of the Report on Conditions of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 175, p. 22.

TABLE VIII.

Distribution of Children in Gainful Occupations, 1900 and 1910.

Division and State	Males 10 to 15 years of age: 1910			Females 10 to 15 years of age: 1910		
	Total Number	Engaged in gain- ful occupations		Total Number	Engaged in gain- ful occupations	
		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent
United States	5,464,228	1,353,139	24.8	5,364,137	637,086	11.9
Geographic divisions:						
New England	334,762	38,096	11.4	333,886	25,843	7.7
Middle Atlantic	1,027,768	118,312	11.5	1,025,227	69,469	6.8
East North Central	1,025,615	133,003	13.0	1,009,752	43,237	4.3
West North Central	705,931	120,601	17.1	689,453	21,445	3.1
South Atlantic	835,646	364,529	43.6	815,579	198,717	24.4
East South Central	583,837	295,255	50.6	564,753	146,635	26.0
West South Central	609,507	248,765	40.8	594,593	123,908	20.8
Mountain	144,810	18,595	12.8	139,410	3,593	2.6
Pacific	196,352	15,983	8.1	191,484	4,239	2.2

Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV,  
Occupations, p. 75.

TABLE IX.  
Distribution of Children Employed in Agriculture.

Sex and Census Year		Children 10 to 15 years of age engaged in gainful occupations		
		All occupations	Agricultural pursuits	Nonagricultural pursuits
1910	Both	1,990,225	1,431,254	558,971
1900		1,750,178	1,061,971	688,207
1910	Male	1,353,139	1,021,084	332,055
1900		1,264,411	854,690	409,721
1910	Female	637,086	410,170	226,916
1900		485,767	207,281	278,486

Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV.  
Occupations, p. 70.

TABLE X.  
Distribution of Children Employed on Farms.

STATE	Males 10 to 15 years of age engaged in gainful occupations: 1910			Females 10 to 15 years of age engaged in gainful occupations: 1910		
	All Occupations	Agriculture, fore- stry and animal husbandry		All Occupations	Agriculture, fore- stry and animal husbandry	
		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent
Selected Northern States:						
Maine .....	3,710	1,574	42.4	1,716	26	1.5
New Hampshire .....	2,222	535	24.1	1,537	8	0.5
Vermont .....	1,967	1,291	65.6	598	15	2.5
Massachusetts .....	19,172	1,092	5.7	13,573	39	0.3
Rhode Island .....	4,350	218	5.0	3,726	13	0.3
Connecticut .....	6,675	853	12.8	4,693	28	0.6
New York .....	39,357	6,270	15.9	25,737	342	1.3
New Jersey .....	14,948	2,317	15.5	10,844	225	2.1
Pennsylvania .....	64,007	18,888	29.5	32,888	1,411	4.3
Selected Southern States:						
North Carolina .....	91,649	78,537	85.7	52,983	42,295	79.8
South Carolina .....	66,382	58,221	87.7	50,870	43,884	86.3
Georgia .....	101,648	90,194	88.7	59,941	52,420	87.5
Florida .....	17,096	13,120	76.7	7,828	6,000	76.6
Kentucky .....	53,838	47,033	87.4	10,854	6,174	56.9
Tennessee .....	64,035	55,563	86.8	19,921	15,129	75.9
Alabama .....	94,126	84,584	89.9	60,586	55,726	92.0
Mississippi .....	83,256	79,050	94.9	55,274	52,942	95.8
Arkansas .....	60,109	56,670	94.3	32,341	30,852	95.4
Louisiana .....	38,830	32,454	83.6	20,902	16,981	81.2
Texas .....	114,443	105,717	92.4	59,937	56,003	93.4

Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV.  
Occupations, p. 77.

TABLE XI.

## Principal Child Employing Manufacturing Industries, 1910.

	10 to 13 Years		14 to 15 Years	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Building and hand trades.....	4,403	605	19,144	8,513
Glass factories .....	410	39	4,349	618
Clothing factories, (suits, coats, cloaks, and overalls) .....	322	267	3,487	5,858
Clothing factories (except suits, coats, cloaks and overalls) .....	30	143	770	4,954
Shoe factories .....	177	93	5,379	3,777
Printing and publishing establishments..	556	66	9,025	2,457
Cotton Mills .....	6,371	5,440	14,449	14,816
Knitting Mills .....	631	922	2,532	7,279
Silk Mills .....	149	284	2,713	6,153
Woolen and Worsted Mills .....	140	130	3,455	4,396
Cigar and tobacco factories .....	962	881	3,205	5,518

Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV.  
Occupations Table VI.

## INFANT MORTALITY.

By HELEN L. SUMNER.

The influence of economic and industrial conditions on infant mortality is marked. Though the available evidence indicates that the death rate of young babies is declining throughout the civilized world, it also shows clearly that this rate is uniformly highest in industrial districts. Thus in 1910, according to the United States Census (Bulletin 112, p. 24), the death rate per 1,000 population under one year of age in the registration states was as follows:

Utah .....	82.3	Ohio .....	115.9
Washington .....	84.3	Michigan .....	127.5
Kentucky .....	87.9	Maine .....	140.4
Montana .....	90.4	New York .....	143.6
California .....	92.2	Connecticut .....	143.7
Minnesota .....	92.4	New Jersey .....	148.8

The high infant death rate in the industrial states is sometimes attributed to the employment of women, but the evidence to this effect is not entirely conclusive. For as a rule the mother works because the family is poor and the dominating factor in infant mortality is poverty, with all the conditions of over-crowding, insufficient or improper food, bad sanitation, ignorance, illiteracy and low standards of life which inadequate earnings bring in their train. The re-

sults of the investigations of Booth in London and of Rown-tree in York, England, upon this point are confirmed by those of the study of infant mortality in Johnstown, Pa., made by the U. S. Children's Bureau (Infant Mortality Series, No. 3; Bureau Publication No. 9), which show that the number of babies born in the selected year who died before their first birthdays varied with the amount of their fathers' earnings. The following table shows the number of births and the mortality rate per 1,000 births included in the Johnstown investigation classified according to the annual earnings of the father:

				Number of Births	Infant Mortality Rate
Annual earnings of father,	under	\$521.....		219	255.7
"	"	"	\$521 to \$624 .....	165	157.6
"	"	"	\$625 to \$899 .....	385	122.1
"	"	"	\$900 to \$1,199 .....	138	101.4
"	"	"	\$1,200 or more .....	48	83.3
"	"	"	"Ample" .....	476	84.0
Total .....				1,431	130.7

The conclusions reached by Mr. Henry H. Hibbs, Jr., in his study, *Infant Mortality: Its Relation to Social and Industrial Conditions*, published in 1916 by the Russell Sage Foundation, are:

"It appears, then, that the fundamental cause of the excessive rate of infant mortality in industrial communities is poverty, inadequate incomes, and low standards of living with their attendant evils, including the gainful employment of mothers. The employment of the mother in gainful occupations is simply the remedy for these evils or adverse conditions which the working people in industrial communities have adopted. Undoubtedly, this recourse has had an important effect on the problem, in many cases actually tending to reduce the rate of infant mortality, while in others having just the opposite effect. The primary question in considering the social causes of infant mortality is whether the employment of mothers and married women in extradomestic occupations is, from the viewpoint of society as a whole, a good remedy for poverty and an acceptable means of mitigating its influence on the health and mortality of babies and young children. From the point of view of the individual poor or poverty stricken family, the fact cannot be escaped that this effect may be both good and bad; bad, in that it causes the baby to be artificially fed, forces the mother to be absent from home, and in other ways lowers her efficiency as a mother; good, in that it increases the family income and decreases the influence of poverty. We are, thus, forced to conclude that the fundamental economic and industrial factor of infant mortality is low wages. The fundamental remedy



is obviously higher wages. Other remedies, such as legislation restricting or regulating the employment of mothers before and after confinement, day nurseries, the instruction of mothers and school girls in domestic economy, and the like, all have their place; but the chief thing remains the provision of an adequate family income."

## THE COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

A congressional commission that received the widest publicity for its work was the Commission on Industrial Relations created by act of Congress, dated August 23rd, 1912. It is generally understood that the one great fact that animated Congress in its desire to provide an agency to "inquire into the general condition of labor in the principal industries of the United States," and to do other related things, was the confession of the MacNamara brothers in December, 1911. There was a general feeling that all was not well. The resolution of Congress was an indirect result of that feeling, and the desire to diagnose it.

Section 4 of the Act defined with great clearness what the Commission was to investigate. It read:

That the commission shall inquire into the general condition of labor in the principal industries of the United States, including agriculture, and especially in those which are carried on in corporate forms; into existing relations between employers and employees; into the effect of industrial conditions on public welfare and into the rights and powers of the community to deal therewith; into the conditions of sanitation and safety of employees and the provisions for protecting the life, limb, and health of the employees; into the growth of associations of employers and of wage earners and the effect of such associations upon the relations between employers and employees; into the extent and results of methods of collective bargaining; into any methods which have been tried in any State or in foreign countries for maintaining mutually satisfactory relations between employees and employers; into methods for avoiding or adjusting labor disputes through peaceful and conciliatory mediation and negotiations; into the scope, methods, and resources of existing bureaus of labor and into possible ways of increasing their usefulness; into the question of smuggling or other illegal entry of Asiatics into the United States or its insular possessions, and of the methods by which such Asiatics have gained and are gaining such admission, and shall report to Congress as speedily as possible, with such recommendation as said commission may think proper to prevent such smuggling and illegal entry. The commission shall seek to discover the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation and report its conclusions thereon.

The Commission, as appointed by the President, was designed to include three Labor men, three employers of labor, and three members representing the general public. The chairman was Frank P. Walsh, a noted attorney of Kansas City, who had taken a deep interest in civic affairs, and had served on various civic bodies. Representing the

public, besides Walsh, were Professor John R. Commons, the celebrated economist of Wisconsin University, and Florence J. Harriman, a wealthy lady who had devoted a good deal of energy to public affairs.

The labor men were John B. Lennon, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, and a member of the Journeymen Tailors; Austin B. Garretson, President of the Order of Railway Conductors, and member of the executive committee of the Civic Federation; and James O'Connell, Vice President of the A. F. of L., President of its Metal Trades Department and former President of the International Association of Machinists. The three labor men were recognized as of the conservative wing of the labor movement, the radicals not being represented at all.

The members representing manufacturers were Harris Weinstock, a department store magnate of California, S. Thurston Ballard, a flour miller of Kentucky, and Richard H. Aishton, Vice President of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway.

The methods used by the Commission were numerous. They held hearings in all parts of the country, and heard men and women on all sides of every question that came up for public discussion. For instance, at the time of the outbreak of the Bayonne strike, the Commission sent two investigators to the scene of the trouble, who took testimony from all sides. In Texas, testimony was taken on the condition of the farmers; in other parts of the south, child labor was investigated. In Colorado the situation that led to Ludlow was gone into thoroughly, and Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was quizzed in Washington and New York. The matter of the great "foundations" was investigated; in New York, the leaders of the Socialist Party, the I. W. W., and the American Federation of Labor were asked their opinions of their various methods of solving the social problem. The debate between Morris Hillquit and Samuel Gompers was one of the high spots of the investigation.

The Commission submitted three reports. The main report was written by Director of Investigations, Basil M. Manly, and was signed by Commissioners Walsh, Lennon, O'Connell and Garretson; in addition to the report, there were supplemental statements by Walsh, by Garretson, and a third, signed by Lennon and O'Connell. The "minority report" of Commons and Mrs. Harriman, was signed by Weinstock, Ballard and Aishton. There were dissenting opinions on various of the points by Weinstock, Aishton and Ballard.

### Results of Investigation.

Manly stated that the main line that he pursued was that indicated by the last phrase of Section 4; namely, "to discover the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation," although he said, the other lines were not neglected.

The report asserts that the great problem before the nation today is the problem of the relations between the people, called generally industrial relations. There are but two things that give promise for better things, either a great system of bureaucratic paternalism, from which all Democracy is excluded, or voluntary organization by the workers, with all arbitrary obstacles to such organization removed.

"The lack of proper industrial relationship and the existence of bad labor conditions is a matter of the most serious moment," said Manly (page 18).

### Distribution of Wealth.

The wealth of the United States, the Commission found, increased in the years 1890 to 1912, from 65 to 187 billions, or 188 per cent. This increase was not generally spread over the whole of the population but was localized within the capitalist class. The aggregate income of the workers in manufacturing, mining and transportation increased in the years 1889-1909 95 per cent, or from 2,516 millions to 4,916 millions. The increase in population must be taken into account. The incomes of two thirds of the families of the American working class were less than \$750 a year; the incomes of nearly one third of the families were under \$500 annually. These figures are based upon what Manly calls "the most exhaustive investigation ever made." The report decided that the least figure upon which an American family can live in anything approaching decency is \$700 per year. (Page 22.)

The unit of the family is breaking up, the investigators found; 79 per cent of the fathers of working class families earned less than \$700 per year. "In brief, only one fourth of these families could have supported their families on the barest subsistence level without the earnings of other members of the family, or income from outside sources" (p. 23). Thirty per cent of the families kept boarders in order to eke out their incomes. In 77 per cent of the families two or more persons occupied each sleeping room; in 37 per cent, three or more; and in 15 per cent, four or more.

### Infant Mortality.

The condition of children, if taken as an index of the welfare of the people, shows an alarming situation. Children whose fathers earn less than \$10 per week died during the first year at the rate of 256 per thousand. Those whose fathers earned \$25 or more per week died at the rate of only 84 per thousand. Thus, children of the very poor die at three times the rate as compared to that of the children of the moderately well off. In six of the largest cities of the country, from 12 to 20 per cent of the children are noticeably underfed and ill nourished. In four industrial towns studied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, more than 75 per cent of the children quit school before reaching the seventh grade.

In the families of the working class, "37 per cent of the mothers are at work and consequently unable to give the children more than scant attention. Of these mothers, 30 per cent keep boarders and 7 per cent work outside the home."

### The Land Problem.

In agriculture, the situation is similar. In 1910, 37 per cent of the farms in the country were tenant operated, an increase of 32 per cent in 20 years. The conditions of the tenant farmers are considered hopeless. They have no future before them. They are badly nourished, uneducated, and exploited.

### Causes of Industrial Unrest.

The causes of industrial unrest, therefore, are summed up as follows:

1. Unjust distribution of wealth and income.
2. Unemployment and the denial of an opportunity to earn a living.
3. Denial of justice in the creation, in the adjudication and the administration of law.
4. Denial of the right to form effective organizations.

The summary of the distribution of wealth in the country is as follows:

1. One third of the adult male workers earn less than \$10 per week; between two thirds and three fourths earn less than \$15, and only about one tenth earn \$20 per week or more.
2. One half of the women workers earn less than \$6 per week.
3. There are forty four families with annual incomes of \$1,000,000 or more.

4. The rich 2 per cent of the people own 60 per cent of the national wealth.

5. The middle class, 33 per cent of the people, own 35%.

6. The poor 65 per cent of the population own 5% of the national wealth.

(Pages 29, 30 et seq.)

In the great basic industries, the workers are unemployed at least one fifth of the time, and at times there are armies of men, numbering hundreds of thousands, who are unable to find work, or who have been so beaten down by circumstances that they can no longer do efficient work.

This unemployment arises from two great causes, the inequality of the distribution of income, and the denial of access to the land and tools of production except under prohibitive circumstances.

Another point that causes discontent among workers is the denial of justice to the workers. "Many witnesses, speaking for millions of workers as well as for themselves, have asserted with the greatest earnestness that the mass of workers are convinced that laws necessary for their protection against the most grievous wrongs cannot be passed except after long and exhausting struggles; that such beneficent measures as become laws are largely nullified by the unwarranted decisions of the courts; that the laws which stand upon the statute books are not equally enforced; and that the whole machinery of the Government has frequently been placed at the disposal of the employers for the oppression of the workers; that the Constitution itself has been ignored in the interest of the employers, and that constitutional guaranties erected principally for the protection of the workers have been denied to them and used as a cloak for the misdeeds of corporations." (Page 39.) An examination of the evidence, says the report, shows that every one of the charges is fully justified. Large numbers of instances are given to show the correctness of this statement, with the corroboration of leading authorities.

The Commission found also that the right of the workers to organize was frequently abridged, and that very often men had to sell their birthrights before being permitted to engage in any occupation.

Chairman Walsh, in a supplementary report, says:

"WE FIND THE BASIC CAUSE OF INDUSTRIAL DISSATISFACTION TO BE LOW WAGES: OR, STATED IN ANOTHER WAY, THE FACT, THAT THE WORKERS OF THE NATION THROUGH COMPUL-



SORY AND OPPRESSIVE METHODS LEGAL AND ILLEGAL, ARE DENIED THE FULL PRODUCT OF THEIR TOIL. [Capitals are his.]

"We further find that unrest among the workers in industry has grown to proportions that already menace the social good will and the peace of the nation. Citizens numbering millions smart under a sense of injustice and of oppression, born of the conviction that the opportunity is denied them, to acquire for themselves and their families that degree of economic well being necessary for the enjoyment of those material and spiritual satisfactions which alone make life worth living." (Page 153.)

### Additional Reports.

The statement of Commissioner Garretson and the one signed by Commissioners Lennon and O'Connell are supplemental to the main report, and agree in the main with it. Mr. Walsh dissents from the Commons-Harriman report because it "does not comply with the law creating the Commission."

That report is mainly an argument and recommendations, but it contains no findings as to social and industrial conditions. Many of the statements in the main report with regard to corporate control over politics are endorsed, and others added. But certain practises of unions, admitted and alleged, are condemned; such as violence, intimidation, graft, etc. "We condemn the conditions found in Colorado, which show the control of corporations over labor and politics, and we find there a system that has taken hold throughout the country." (Page 228-9.)

The other reports are merely supplementary and complementary to the main dissenting report.

There was a great struggle to get the report printed, various reactionary senators holding up the report of the committee that unanimously reported in favor. But the popular clamor for the reports overwhelmed Congress, and they were printed. The vast mass of testimony, however, has not yet been published.

NOTE: The final report of the Commission on Industrial Relations including the report of Basil M. Manly and the different individual reports of the several commissioners can be obtained from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

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It is the "dreamer" who keeps the world from going to sleep altogether.

**EARNINGS IN THE UNITED STATES.**

BY PROFESSOR SCOTT NEARING,

The manifest shortcomings of an "average" as a means of describing wages have led statisticians to the use of classified wages. Instead of saying that the wages of 1,000 men average \$2.83, the statistician notes that of the 1,000 men, 28 receive a wage of from \$1.00 to \$1.49; that 324 receive a wage of from \$1.50 to \$1.99, and so on. By this means, a group picture is made of the amount received by all of the wage-earners.

There are a number of rather complete summaries of the wages paid in certain American industries—chiefly manufacturing.<sup>1</sup> A brief statement of some of the more important classified wage figures appears in the following table:

**The Wage Rates of Adult Males Employed in  
Manufacturing Industries.**



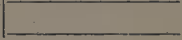
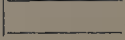

STATE OR INDUSTRY	Year	Total adult males	Cumulative percentage of adult males receiving wage rates per year of less than		
			\$500	\$750	\$1000
California <sup>2</sup> .....	1911	107,950	7	30	63
Iowa <sup>2</sup> .....	1912-13	48,710	12	61	87
Kansas <sup>2</sup> .....	1912	55,993	16	72	87
Massachusetts <sup>2</sup> ....	1912	420,524	28	67	90
New Jersey <sup>2</sup> .....	1912	259,341	34	68	88
Oklahoma <sup>2</sup> .....	1911	17,007	17	68	90
Wisconsin <sup>2</sup> .....	1909	141,218	32	77	94
Census <sup>3</sup> .....	1905	2,124,069	47	79	94
U. S.—Iron & Steel <sup>4</sup> .	1910	172,706	8	60	85
U. S.—Textiles <sup>5</sup> ....	1910-12		60	90	95

The manufacturing industries of the north and east pay to the adult wage-earners wage rates of less than \$1,000 in nine-tenths of the cases. With the exception of California, the percentage of men receiving less than \$750, and the percentage receiving less than \$1,000, are remarkably uniform. The one-tenth of the adult male wage-earners who receive wage rates of more than \$1,000 a year are the income aristocracy of the wage-earning class. They are, for the most part, protected by powerful trade unions, by long terms of apprenticeship or by special training.

A diagram brings out, in striking form, the more detailed facts of the American wage scale. Massachusetts, one

of the leading manufacturing states of the Union, reports the wage scale for a larger number of persons than any other state.

The Weekly Wage-Rates paid to 436,576 adult males in the Manufacturing Industries of Massachusetts, 1912:<sup>6</sup>

Weekly Wage	Adult Males	
Under \$10 .....	126,011	
\$10 but under \$15.....	166,440	
\$15 but under \$20.....	98,839	
\$20 but under \$25.....	31,416	
\$25 and over .....	13,870	

The diagram is illuminating. Almost exactly four-fifths of the adult males at work in one of the largest manufacturing states of the Union are receiving wage rates ranging from \$8 to \$20 per week. Ten men in 100 receive \$20 per week or over and three men in 100 receive \$25 per week or over. The great bulk of the men at work in the manufacturing industries of Massachusetts are paid a wage rate of less than \$20 a week.

The fact should be emphasized that these figures show not what people earn, but the amounts paid by industry to those who do its work. The wage scale is set in each industry. Let 1,000 seek places in the factories of Massachusetts. They would find a wage scale already in existence that would pay to 500 of them less than \$15 per week and to 900 of them less than \$20 a week.

Most wage-workers do not earn in a year 52 times the weekly wage rate. Unemployment, varying in intensity from one trade to another, reduces yearly earnings a tenth, a fifth, or sometimes even a third.<sup>7</sup> Wage-workers earn wages only while they work and work in modern industry is a gravely uncertain quantity.

The American wage—the amount paid by American industry to its workers—may be characterized briefly in these terms. A comparatively small percentage (from 5 to 10 in 100) of the persons gainfully employed in modern industry

### Summary of Wage Rates in American Industry

(No allowance for unemployment)

1/10	\$1,000 and over
2/10	\$750 to \$1,000
7/10	Under \$750

are on a salary basis. The vast majority of the employees (from 90 to 95 in 100) are paid a wage or its equivalent. Among those who work for wages, the great majority (about nine-tenths of the adult males) receive wage rates of \$1,000 per year or less. The wage-rates of two-thirds of the males fall below \$750; a third below \$500. These statements make no allowance for unemployment, which is a constant, irreducible factor. Unemployment due to lack of work alone is generally met with.<sup>8</sup> Add to this the unemployment resulting from sickness, accidents, and other personal causes, and the proportion is still higher.

<sup>1</sup> The meagre wage figures covering transportation, municipal utilities, mercantile establishments and mines indicate that the wages paid in the manufacturing industries are fairly typical of wages paid by other industries in the same locality requiring a like amount of ability or training. See Income, Scott Nearing, New York, The MacMillan Company, 1915, Chapter 4.

<sup>2</sup> Compiled from the Reports of the State Bureau of Labor.

<sup>3</sup> Census of Manufactures, 1905, Bulletin 93, Earnings of Wage-earners, Washington, 1908, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Report on the condition of Employment in the Iron and Steel Industry, Senate Document 110, 62d. Congress, 1st Session, Volume I., p. xxvi.

<sup>5</sup> Compiled from the Reports of the Tariff Board, from the Report by the Federal Department of Labor on the Strike at Lawrence, 1912, and from the State Reports.

<sup>6</sup> Statistics of Manufactures for Massachusetts, 1912, Boston, 1914, p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> Work and Wages, S. J. Chapman, Part II, New York, Longmans, Green & Company, 1908, Chapter 15; Unemployment in the U. S., Scott Nearing, Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Ass'n. Vol. I, Sept. 1909, pp. 530-535.

<sup>8</sup> An idea of the extent of unemployment may be gained from the reports of the New Jersey and the Massachusetts Labor Bureaus, showing the number of days worked in the various industries. See Bureau of Statistics of New Jersey, 1913, Paterson, 1914, pp. 125-126; also statistics of manufactures for 1911, Bureau of Statistics for Massachusetts, Public Document No. 36, Boston, p. 137.

## THE STANDARD OF LIVING.

BY PROFESSOR SCOTT NEARING.

A number of attempts to ascertain the cost of a decent standard of living have been based on the assumption that physical health, education up to the age of fourteen, and the other minimum requirements of modern American life were included in the term "decency."

There is a certain minimum of food, clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life below which physical health and social decency are impossible. That minimum exists in terms of bread and butter, shoes, overcoats, medical attendance and school books. It is fixed by the demands of nature and by the standards of society, wholly independent of cost or price; therefore, any discussion of the cost of a decent living begins with an analysis of the various items which comprise living decency. The amount of food required by the man or by his family can be fixed with scientific accuracy. The amount of clothing is not susceptible of such an accurate statement but it can be designated in terms of a certain number of garments per year. Most students of the standard of living have agreed that three or four rooms are necessary to house a family of five people decently. They have, likewise, made an allowance for medical attendance, for saving, for insurance, and for recreation.

After the number of things necessary to maintain a decent standard of living has been decided upon, the question of cost is raised. A family requires so much flour, so many pairs of shoes, and so many rooms. What is the least amount for which these things can be obtained? The answer to that question, worked out for a number of eastern cities, has placed the cost of a decent living for a family of five at from \$750 to \$1,000 per annum.<sup>1</sup>

The amount fixed by the recent standard of living studies is a minimum. One of the most complete investigations—that made by the federal government—allowed \$744 per year for the maintenance of a family of five in a Massachusetts city. Six-sevenths of this entire amount was expended for food, clothing and shelter, leaving only a little more than \$100 a year for all of the other items in the family budget.

The exact apportionment of this sum was as follows:



## Expenditures.

	Per Week.	Per Year.
Food .....	\$ 6.02	\$313.00
Housing .....	2.52	131.00
Clothing .....	2.63	136.80
Fuel and light .....	.82	42.75
Health .....	.22	11.65
Insurance .....	.35	18.25
Sundries .....	1.75	90.90
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$14.31	\$744.35

The Chapin study was made for the purpose of determining the cost of a fair or decent standard of living in New York City. In summing up the results of his study, Dr. Chapin writes:<sup>3</sup> "An income of \$900 or over probably permits the maintenance of a normal standard, at least so far as the physical man is concerned." Regarding incomes below \$900, Dr. Chapin makes the following statement: "Whether an income between \$800 and \$900 can be made to suffice is a question to which our data do not warrant a dogmatic answer."

One other less complete, but highly satisfactory study of standards of living has been made in the Stock Yards District of Chicago. After an exhaustive investigation, the author reports that the minimum amount necessary to support a family of five efficiently in the Stock Yards District is \$800 per year.<sup>4</sup>

There have been several other investigations, the most recent estimate, made in 1915 by the Bureau of Standards of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment in New York City, sets the amount for that city at \$840, and estimates less complete and less conclusive, which lead to the same general conclusion, namely, that in the industrial cities of the northeastern United States, the cost of a decent standard of living for a family consisting of a man, wife and three young children, varies from \$750 to \$1,000.

<sup>1</sup> Financing the Wage-earner's Family, Scott Nearing, New York, B. W. Huebsch, 1911, ch. V.

<sup>2</sup> Woman and Child Wage-earners in the United States, Senate Doc. No. 645, 61st Congress, 2nd Session, 1911, Vol. XVI, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> The Standards of Living Among Workingmen's Families in New York City, R. C. Chapin, New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1909, p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> "Wages and Family Budgets" John C. Kennedy and others, University of Chicago Press, 1914, p. 80.

**PROPERTY INCOME IN THE UNITED STATES.****By PROFESSOR SCOTT NEARING.**

The toll exacted each year by the owners of income-yielding property is enormous. The figures are not all available, but corporations alone report to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue a total capital stock of \$61,738,000,000; and ■ total bonded indebtedness of \$34,750,000,000. These figures include the wealth value controlled by those corporations which are engaged in financial and commercial enterprises, in public services, in industrial and manufacturing enterprises, mercantile activities, and in such miscellaneous activities as architects, contractors, hotels, theatres, etc. The figures do not include any unincorporated business in these fields.

It is possible to add to the figures cited by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue many other sources from which property income might be derived.

The most important items in property income in addition to the facts published by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue are included in house rent, farm rent, interest on mortgages, and similar charges. The Census figures in this field are incomplete and inadequate, yet taking the Census statements regarding the total number of families, the value of city real estate, the value of farm real estate, and adding to them the figures published by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for corporations (the probable amount of income yielded by the property controlled through other than corporate agencies), it appears that the total income now paid to property owners in the United States is well above the six billion dollar mark.

No claim can be made for the accuracy of this estimate. The thirty-four and three-quarter billions of corporate bonds reported by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue surely pay an average of 5 per cent. interest; that is, a billion and three-quarters to start with. The sixty-one and three quarter billions of capital stock pays at least some dividends. House rent, interest on mortgages, farm rent, interest on public debt, and the various other sources from which property owners derive income all add their quota. Even at that, the facts can touch only the obvious sources of property income payments.

Grant, for the sake of argument, that the annual income paid to property owners in the United States is equal to six billions a year. There are probably ten million families in the United States which spend less than \$500 a year; there are probably twelve million families in the United States, which, together, would have an annual expenditure averaging

\$500. The six billions of property income would pay all of the expenses of these twelve million families, or, added to their incomes, would raise them to a level of income respectability.

The estimates on which these conclusions are based are in every case conservative to the last degree. The truth cannot be stated in figures, because the facts for accurate statements do not exist. Figures are used in order to make the matter concrete and real. It is neither practicable nor is it necessary to fix the amount of property income paid at five, six, or seven billions annually. The significant, vital fact is that property income payments are being reckoned not in hundreds of millions, but in billions. The figures for corporate bonded indebtedness published by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue alone establish this fact. It is the fact, and not the amount, that is important.

These figures relate to the incomes now being paid to property owners. The matter may be approached in another way by asking what are the possible sources of property income in the United States at the present time. The largest single group of figures is published by the Bureau of the Census, in its bulletin on "The Estimated Valuation of National Wealth," Washington, 1915, page 15. According to the census estimate, the total wealth of the United States in 1912 was \$187,739,000,000. Of this amount, more than half (\$98,363,000,000) was in the form of real property and improvements, taxed. Real property and improvements, untaxed, add another twelve billions to the total property valuation. Farm implements and machinery, manufacturing implements and machinery, railroads and other public utilities aggregate the vast total of national wealth. Clothing and personal adornments (non-income yielding wealth) are stated at only four and one quarter billions, while furniture, carriages and kindred property is stated at eight and a half billions. Thus the strictly personal property of the country constitutes less than 7% of the total wealth credited to the United States in 1912.

These Census figures obviously do not all represent income yielding property. If the 96 billions of corporate business property reported by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, the 41 billions of farm values and the 5 billions of public debt are added, there appears a total of approximately 140 billions of income yielding property. These sources alone would yield at 5 per cent, an annual income to property owners of 7 billions.

The second method of computing the total of potential income-yielding property, while less accurate, is far more inclusive. The Internal Revenue figures should be increased

by perhaps fifteen or twenty billions so as to include the unincorporated business properties. The city and town real estate, not owned by firms or corporations, must equal tens of billions additional. A highly conservative statement of the problem would place the value of potential income-yielding property in the United States at a sum very considerably in excess of 170 billions.

The figures stagger the imagination. They are unthinkable, yet they represent, though only roughly, the facts of possible income-yielding property values in the United States.

The possibilities of property income from the total income yielding property may be suggested. If the potential income-yielding property of the country (estimated as "considerably in excess of 170 billions") paid a return at the rate of 3 per cent on its stated value, the total amount of property income would be considerably more than five billions of dollars. If it paid a return of 6 per cent, the total amount of property income would be considerably more than ten billions of dollars. These are the sums that might be paid annually to the owners of property in the United States.

The totals for possible property income may be compared with some service income totals. The wages and salaries paid by the manufacturing industries of the United States in 1909 were \$4,365,612,851; the wages and salaries paid by the railroads in 1912 were \$1,252,347,697; the wages and salaries paid by all of the mines and quarries in 1909 were \$640,167,630. Together these figures total only six and a half billions.

### LOW WAGES AND PROSTITUTION.\*

The question as to whether the low wages paid to women workers are an appreciable cause of prostitution has been much discussed, and, if the truth be told, but little studied—at least until very recently. It is true that nearly every Vice Report for the last two decades has expressed an opinion on the question—and this opinion has almost invariably been that there is little or no connection between the two elements—but the problem has always been dealt with collaterally, as a small adjunct to an investigation of the general problem of prostitution, and an inquiry into this particular phase of it has rarely been made one of the express objects of research. Nevertheless, commissions seem to have felt it necessary to express an opinion on the subject, doubtless because of the great public interest therein. It remained for the Vice Committee of the Illinois State Senate to cover the ground exhaustively. This committee

was appointed in 1913, and, after three years of thorough-going and painstaking investigation into this and other phases of the vice problem, has just published the results of its inquiry. Its finding is unequivocal, clear-cut, and of unmistakable import:

**"Your committee finds . . . that thousands of girls are driven into prostitution because of the sheer inability to keep body and soul together on the low wages received by them."**

Now it is well known that there is an organized business of prostitution; that it is tremendously profitable for its owners—who by the way are practically all men—; and what is most important that **the business's supply of prostitutes is not equal to the demand.** Miss Jane Addams says: "Over and over again in the criminal proceedings against the men engaged in this traffic, when questioned as to their motives, they have given the simple reply 'that more girls are needed' and that 'they were promised big money for them.'"

General Bingham, former Police Commissioner of New York City says:

"The procurer . . . keeps up the supply of women, which except for his industrious labors would fall far below its present volume . . . so unwilling are women to debase themselves, that the cadet, the dance hall, the Raines Law hotel, false marriages, drink, and even physical force are necessary to keep the hideous thing alive."

### **The Procurer's Opportunity.**

Can a more likely recruiting ground for the labors of procurers be imagined than the ranks of \$6 a week working women who need \$8 to live? Not only are they in the field, but they seem to concentrate their efforts on the women suffering under the greatest economic pressure—a natural enough policy. It goes without saying that a woman with no job is worse off than a woman with one, even though that job net but \$6 a week. Accordingly it has been found that employment agencies are frequently used as a recruiting ground by these procurers, and, in some cases it was discovered that the agencies were in active co-operation with them. The Illinois Commission speaks of the "manager who found his factory besieged with the agents of professional white slavery" (p. 35). This factory is not an exception to the rule, if evidence gathered by a number of investigations is to be believed. Cheap amusement places, the only kind that a \$6 a week woman would be likely to patronize, are also infested with these human vultures.

But the greatest danger the working woman faces is the "gentleman friend"—he who stands ready to bridge the deficit in return for a sacrifice of virtue. One of the most re-



markable findings of the Illinois Committee was that of the existence of the "call-girl system, serving 'respectable' men with 'respectable' girls and protecting the reputation of both. How many thousands of girls are enmeshed in its toils your committee is not in a position to state. The reports of the investigators, however, leave no doubt that the number is very large. Here the low wage received by working girls plays a part so conspicuous that none can ignore it as a vital factor in the insidious industry. That a large majority of the girls on 'call lists' that have been discovered, are in employment during the day time, is undisputed. Some of them are thus bridging the deficit between the wage paid them and the cost of their existence." A million women below the bread-line and a "call girl" system of colossal proportions. Is it possible that there is no connection? The place of the "gentleman friend" as a supplementary source of income has even been recognized by employers. Says the Federal Report on Woman Labor (1911): "The story of the superintendent of employees who says to the girl protesting against the small wage 'but haven't you a man friend to help support you?' is current in every city. Its very prevalence is the best proof of its truth" (Vol. 5, p. 30). A correspondent of the Illinois Commission writes: "The girls the Vice Commission interviewed were the girls in the brothels—those girls whose lives are closed—but they are not so horribly pitiable as the girls with whom I come in constant contact—who are eking out that shortage in wage by occasional delinquency. The woman who is in the gutter cannot tear at your heart strings like the girl you are watching as she starts and pursues that road. . . . I would rather watch a girl dying by inches." (p. 828.)

### The First Step Downward.

Often a struggling girl's first step downward is taken not with a view to immediate pecuniary reward but in the hope of future support. Says the Illinois Commission "The presumption is incontrovertible that the girl whose means are inadequate properly to meet the items of a bare existence is least fortified to resist prenuptial demands, the denial of which she may fear will cost a husband, while the granting might open the matrimonial door of escape from all the miseries of starvation. . . . The girl gambles rather than makes open sale." (p. 30.)

Often the girl loses in this "gamble" for matrimonial support, for men know and play upon her anxiety to marry. She becomes a prey to men, who, as the Chicago Commission of 1911 says, "are so low that they have lost even a sense of sportsmanship, and who seek as their game an under-fed,

a tired, and a lonely girl." "The girl who is below the bread line, who is slipping weekly farther and farther into debt and misery seldom recovers from the first moral lapse." (Illinois Report p. 31.) She feels that her fight for virtue is lost, that she is a "bad girl," and she has no heart left for the hopeless struggles against want and misery. So she makes "open sale." Here, unquestionably, it is the absolute destitution that low wages mean, that has caused the initial vulnerability to the wiles of seducers, as it has caused the subsequent continuance in immorality when the girl feels that she has nothing left to fight for.

But often a girl has no chance to "gamble" for matrimonial support. "There is testimony of authenticity scarcely to be questioned in the stenographic record of girls deliberately selling their virtue under extreme economic stress." (Ill. Report, p. 28.) That is, making open sale in the first instance.

It is clear that low wages are the determining factor in all the above cases. Was the Illinois Commission wrong in its conclusion that "thousands of girls are driven into prostitution because of their sheer inability to keep body and soul together on the low wages received by them"? Surely, the admitted facts of American industrial life do not disprove the finding, and the Illinois Commission is prepared to back up its conclusion with plenty of evidence:

"By the testimony of the girl victims in one unbroken narrative of hopeless struggle; by the reports of their private conversation from experienced investigators; by the observations and judgments of social workers whose integrity has never been questioned; and, over and above all, by the figures of what the girls are actually paid, and of what it actually costs them to live, the hideous deficit and the more hideous contemplation of how sometimes that deficit may be bridged; is your committee brought irretrievably to this finding. It is not a matter of sentiment or of emotion, or of opinion. It is the fact, cold, not nice, uncomplimentary to all of us; but nevertheless the fact." (p. 28.)

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\*Report of the Senate Vice Commission, Illinois, 1916.

## SOCIAL INSURANCE.

By I. M. RUBINOW.

Of all modern countries with a high development of capitalist system of production, the United States is practically the only one without any system of social insurance for its wage workers. Of the six well defined systems of social insurance for workmen, namely: (1) against industrial accidents, (2) against sickness, (3) against invalidity, (4) against old age, (5) against unemployment, and (6) against premature death, or insurance of pension for widows and orphans,—only the first one has materially developed during the last five years (see article on Compensation). As a result the American wage worker, notwithstanding his higher earning capacity is much less protected against the common emergencies of life than his German or English competitor. The only excuse for including this topic in this book is the fact that during 1915 the efforts towards introducing some such system in this country became sufficiently important to permit us to speak at least of a social insurance movement.

Of course, the American workman is not unfamiliar with the principle of insurance. Through commercial or co-operative channels he carries a very large amount of voluntary insurance, and of late employers, especially large employers, have made many efforts to establish insurance schemes within their plants, often subsidizing them substantially, and sometimes assuming the entire cost. The most familiar co-operative channels are: the trade union funds, giving sick benefits occasionally, invalidity and old age benefits, and even unemployment benefits, though in the American labor organizations these benefit funds are much less developed than in England or Germany. A few special workingmen's benefit societies exist, giving sick and also small death benefits. These societies are largely organized by workingmen of foreign descent. Wage workers also constitute a substantial proportion of the membership of the fraternal orders, somewhat akin to the English friendly societies, but giving a good deal more life insurance and less sickness (health) insurance.

### Costly Commercial Insurance.

Finally in consequence of a very aggressive selling system commercial insurance has succeeded in insuring well nigh the entire 25,000,000 wage workers and their families for small death benefits, which are in reality little but funeral benefits, and because of the expensive system of weekly collection of small premiums, cost the American wage earner

some \$200,000,000 a year, some 40%, or \$80,000,000 being absorbed in administrative expenses.

There is even less provision for sickness, and as far as old age is concerned, there is only a small minority of workers employed by very large corporations, who have established pension systems for retirement in order to meet the problem of superannuation. Finally, practically nothing has been accomplished in unemployment insurance, since a few unions are the only channels through which some unemployment benefits are paid, and the total amount paid scarcely exceeds half a million dollars a year. The frightful distress which accompanies every period of acute unemployment from the very beginning is of course familiar to every student of labor conditions in the United States.

It is impossible to give much information of a more accurate character beyond the very general statements made above because the field of voluntary efforts towards the development of workingmen's insurance was never made the subject of any exhaustive government enquiry. The only study made by the Federal Government (23rd. Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor), is nearly 10 years old and is far from being complete, omitting several important branches.

Within the last two or three years, however, there has been very active discussion of the whole social insurance program and the possibilities for some favorable action in the near future have improved materially. The election of a Socialist Congressman in 1911 has brought a socialist bill for old age pensions in 1912, and though this bill was severely criticized for some of its details, it stimulated the discussion of old age provisions. As a result of the severe depressions during the winter of 1913, and following that immediately after the beginning of the war, with the extreme suffering caused by unemployment of millions, unemployment insurance loomed high in the general discussions of necessary measures for relief of the unemployed, and even appeared as an official recommendation of the numerous unemployment commissions organized at the time. In only one state did these plans go as far as the drafting of a bill and an official hearing (Mass., March 1, 1916). The change in the conditions of the labor market occasioned by the sudden appearance of European war orders, especially in the Eastern states for a time obliterated the problem of unemployment, at least from public attention.

### Movement for Health Insurance.

The close of the year 1915, did see, however the inauguration of a very energetic campaign for health insurance as the next step in social insurance. This is, at least, formally, due to the American Association for Labor Legislation, which had a social insurance committee at work for some three years at a tentative draft of a bill. This committee succeeded in crystalizing the movement, which finds its support on one hand in the growing familiarity with accident compensation, and on the other in the British precedent of establishing its health insurance system in 1911. Since November, 1915, when the first draft of the A. A. L. L.'s bill appeared, two more drafts, more detailed, were published, and the support found in various advanced circles is very substantial. Bills, slightly modified from the original draft, and, unfortunately, much more meager in their provision, were introduced in Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey. In Massachusetts the bill led to the establishment of a legislative commission for the study of health insurance, and similar action came very near being taken in New York, when the Senate voted for a commission, but the Assembly adjourned without taking any action. In California a social insurance commission was established earlier in the year, and it decided to devote its investigations primarily to the problem of health insurance.

Though active propaganda in favor of health insurance has been going on in this country for a very short time only, the progress made is considerable. An increasing number of so-called reform organizations, and primarily various national organizations interested in various lines of social progress have gone on record as favoring health insurance, or, at least, are taking active interest in the movement. These include the National Conference of Charities and Correction, the American Public Health Association, the American Medical Association, etc. A large number of private voluntary committees on State or local lines have been organized for the study or advocacy of health insurance. The movement is at present strongest in New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, and California, but some work is also being done in New Jersey, Illinois, Oregon, and Michigan.

It is true that the movement is at present largely limited to social workers, reformers, charity workers and similar "intellectual" groups, which come into close contact with problem of destitution and relief. But already the National Association of Manufacturers, a thoroughly reactionary body, has come out definitely in favor of compulsory



health insurance. When the early history of the compensation movement in this country is analyzed, its similarity with the present stage in health insurance must be recognized and early legislation on the subject becomes almost a certainty.

In view of this, the attitude of labor becomes a matter of great importance. As far as the Socialist movement is concerned, it has stood generally, though without very great enthusiasm for a complete program of social insurance. Recently interest in legislation of this type has become more active, as evidenced by a bill introduced by the Socialist Congressman Meyer London for a federal commission for the study of social insurance, which at this writing has been reported out by the Committee on Labor and has a fighting chance of favorable action.

Organized labor has taken a sceptical or non-committal attitude in so far as it is not openly hostile. This, however, has also been the early attitude towards compensation legislation. Several arguments in favor of such an attitude are made. To begin with there is the general attitude of scepticism towards all labor legislation, especially when initiated by "outsiders." There is also objection to, and fear of, the principle of compulsion as an unwarranted interference with personal liberty. There is a suspicion entirely unwarranted by the experience of health insurance that it might lead to compulsory medical examination and rejection of sub-standard workmen from employment. There is also a fear that the establishment of a compulsory system may interfere with the benefit features of the labor organizations and in this way with the very growth of the organizations.

A good many of these fears are claimed by the advocates of health insurance to be due to a misunderstanding of the purposes and methods of compulsory social insurance. Evidently the existence of these fears places a burden of educational work upon the socialist movement which is more ready to accept the necessity of coercive and protective action through legislation.

There is, however, a more direct duty upon the Socialist movement in connection with approaching health insurance legislation. Its character, its beneficial results, its administrative methods—everything is subject to very substantial fluctuations. Whether health insurance is to become a real force for the betterment of the conditions of the wage workers life, or whether it is to remain, like the American compensation legislation, a mere sop to the wageworker, will largely depend upon the activity of the Socialist movement.

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**INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS IN UNITED STATES.**

From Statement of Royal Meeker, Commissioner U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Any attempt to give the number of industrial accidents occurring in the United States must be the result of estimates, for adequate records are not yet in existence. In the first place, most of the States do not yet receive satisfactory reports. Before the enactment of compensation laws, reports were exceedingly unsatisfactory, as many employers entirely neglected making reports of their industrial accidents to any State official. With the coming into effect of the compensation laws, this condition is rapidly being changed for the better, but such a change cannot come about in one or two years. A considerable period is necessary for the education of the employer as to the importance of accident reporting, even in his own interest.

A second reason for the lack of adequate records and reports, even under compensation laws, is the lack of uniformity in requirements. The laws are not uniform in covering all industrial employments. Establishments below a certain size are in some cases excluded. Agriculture is in most cases excluded, while railroad employments, so far as those persons employed in interstate commerce are concerned, are covered by the reports to the Interstate Commerce Commission. These reports have heretofore not been entirely satisfactory. The Interstate Commerce Commission's definition of a fatal accident was formerly one where death ensued within 24 hours of the accident. It is probable that this omitted 8 or 10 per cent of the actual fatalities. The Commission's reports of non-fatal accidents have probably also been incomplete. New rules, however, have recently been put into effect by the Commission, and it is probable that these rules, together with the educational effect of workmen's compensation laws, and the safety movement will result in greatly improved statistics of accidents.

The estimates given in bulletin 157, give the number of fatal industrial accidents in a year at 25,000, and the number of non-fatal injuries involving a disability of more than four weeks at approximately 700,000, but the accident disabilities of four weeks and less greatly exceed in number those of over four weeks. According to the best information available, approximately 80% of all accidents involving a disability of more than one day are those in which the disability is four weeks and less. If, therefore, it is desired to include in the estimate of industrial accidents all those in which the disability is more than one day, the total number of industrial accidents would be approximately 3,625,000, of which approxi-

mately 60% or 2,175,000, involved a disability of more than one week, and approximately 40%, or 1,450,000 involved a disability of one week or less.

### Estimate of Fatal Industrial Accidents in the United States in 1913, by Industry Groups.

By FREDERICK L. HOFFMAN.

(Bulletin U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 157, p. 6.)

Industry Group	Number of employees <sup>1</sup>	Fatal in- dustrial accidents <sup>1</sup>	Rate per 1,000
Metal Mining .....	170,000	680	4.00
Coal Mining .....	750,000	2,625	3.50
Fisheries .....	150,000	450	3.00
Navigation .....	150,000	450	3.00
Railroad Employees .....	1,750,000	4,200	2.40
Electricians (Light and Power) .....	68,000	153	2.25
Navy and Marine Corps .....	62,000	115	1.85
Quarrying .....	150,000	255	1.70
Lumber Industry .....	531,000	797	1.50
Soldiers, United States Army .....	73,000	109	1.49
Building and construction .....	1,500,000	1,875	1.25
Draymen, teamsters, etc. ....	686,000	686	1.00
Street railway employees .....	320,000	320	1.00
Watchmen, policemen, firemen .....	200,000	150	.75
Telephone and telegraph (including linemen) ..	245,000	123	.50
Agricultural pursuits, including forestry and animal husbandry .....	12,000,000	4,200	.35
Manufacturing (general) .....	7,277,000	1,819	.25
All other occupied males .....	4,678,000	3,508	.75
All occupied males .....	30,760,000	22,515	.73
All occupied females .....	7,200,000	540	.075

<sup>1</sup> Partly estimated.

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Among important general works of reference mention may be made of the treatise on "Work Accidents and the Law," by Crystal Eastman, published in 1910 in connection with the Pittsburgh Survey; the volume on "Risks in Modern Industry," published by the American Academy of Political and Social Science in 1911, and, finally the proceedings of the first and second annual meetings of the National Council for Industrial Safety, better known as the Co-operative Safety Congress.

The labor press will not begin to be the power it should be until the people in whose interests it is published begin to show it a little of the deference and respect that they now bestow upon the press of their opponents.

When the workers acquire the virtue of self-dependence a great many "friends of labor" will have to adopt some other profession.

**WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.****Progress During 1915.**

By I. M. RUBINOW.

The movement for workmen's compensation for industrial injuries which began in this country with the act of May 30, 1908, covering only employees of the United States government has made very substantial progress during 1915, as far as extension to new states is concerned. At the beginning of 1915 there were 23 acts in effect, the odd years being the years when most legislatures meet. New laws were enacted in Oklahoma, Alaska, Colorado, Hawaii, Indiana, Maine, Montana, Pennsylvania, Vermont and Wyoming, so that by the beginning of 1916, 31 states had laws of this class besides the territories of Alaska and Hawaii, and there is also legislation covering U. S. employees, in the Canal Zone and the Philippine Islands, making altogether 36 compensation systems. The territory not yet covered by some system of compensation is at present confined almost exclusively to the South. In the beginning of 1916 only the following states had failed to pass compensation acts: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Dist. of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kentucky (enacted a law in 1916), Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah.

In addition to new acts, a good many states revised their legislation usually improving or extending former enactments.

Since the first state act that remained in force was passed in 1911, the progress made during five years, in view of the difficulties offered by our political system, is fairly gratifying. The south has always been backward in social legislation, but nevertheless, even in the south considerable progress has been made as is proven by the acts of Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, West Virginia and Kentucky, and in several other southern states official commissions are at work, so that the final acceptance of the compensation bills throughout the country is a matter of a comparatively short time.

It does not follow therefrom that the compensation situation can be described as at all satisfactory from the point of view of the American wage working class; in fact, with the exception of two or three states the direct opposite holds true and perhaps all of the acts will have to be re-written in order to comply with at least reasonable demands that the American wage workers may put upon the compensation legislation. The value of a compensation act depends upon the character of its provisions, and without going into too great a detail, the following points are essential:

### The Essential Points.

First: The extent of the act; that is, the groups of wage workers covered and the extent to which the entire wage working class is protected.

Second: The scope of the act or the nature of accidents or injuries covered.

Third: The scale of benefits is perhaps the most important feature of a workmen's compensation law because inevitable comparison must be made between the opportunity of obtaining a verdict under the old liability situation and the compensation given under the new system. The greater security of indemnity under a compensation act should not be bought at too great a reduction in the amount to be obtained.

Fourth: Provisions for a system of insurance established. This is, perhaps, not as important a feature as it would appear from the emphasis placed upon it in American discussions of compensation laws, nevertheless it is of importance to the extent to which it provides a guarantee of payment, and from a broad public point of view to the extent to which, under a subterfuge, social protective legislation creates a new field for profit of private insurance enterprise.

Fifth: To these broad general standards, another one, specifically American must be added, based upon the distinction between compulsory and elective laws. For presumably constitutional difficulties, most of the states find it impossible to adopt compulsory compensation acts, and the compensation principle was smuggled in through the so-called legislative system by which both the employers and employees are urged to accept the compensation law under penalty of a more stringent employers' liability situation for the employer who refuses the act or a less stringent employer's liability situation for the employee who would refuse the act. While in most states the elective compensation laws become universal in their acceptance, at least in one state the compensation act is practically a dead letter, namely, New Hampshire, and the bad effect has been more general than that because under the necessity of making compensation more attractive to the employer than the old system of employer's liability, it was necessary to reduce the benefits under the compensation law.

An analysis of the old existing compensation acts is a complicated matter. The interested reader may be referred



to various analyses recently published of which the best are probably those to be found in Bulletins Nos. 126 and 185 of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the very comprehensive analysis, prepared by Prof. F. Robertson Jones, and published by the Workmen's Compensation Publicity Bureau. In the table given here only the important features of compensation acts will be indicated so as to permit of some estimate as to the comparative values of those acts and the comparative necessity for amendment. Summing up the general status of compensation in this country, only eleven of the systems are compulsory, including the states of Arizona, California, Maryland, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Washington, Wyoming, the Territory of Hawaii, the Canal Zone, and the U. S. Act. As far as the extent of insurance is concerned practically all the acts leave very substantial portions of the working class unprotected, the only exception being the State of New Jersey, with an act, very poor in many respects, but satisfactory in regard to its coverage. In some states all employees except domestic and agricultural labor, and casual employees are covered. In others the limitation is still narrower, only given lists of hazardous or "extra hazardous" injuries being protected. In almost all the states the compensation is given for accidental injuries only, but in California the system has been extended by a special amendment to occupational diseases, and in Massachusetts, and to some extent in Wisconsin, diseases due to occupation may be compensated. The prevailing scale of compensation is unfortunately utterly inadequate, being 50% of the average wages in some 22 out of 34 acts. It rises to 55% in Indiana; to 60% in Hawaii and Texas; to 65% in California, Kentucky and Wisconsin; to 66 2-3% in Massachusetts, New York and Ohio, and specific uniform benefits are provided in two or three states.

It should be quite obvious that at least all the necessary medical care that an injured workman requires should be provided for, but even in this respect most American acts are extremely miserly, and medical care in many of them is limited to the first two weeks only; in others an additional limitation of the total cost of medical aid to \$100, \$50, or even \$25, as in Pennsylvania, is established.

A very serious aspect of compensation acts is the prevailing waiting period during which no compensation, except medical benefits, is paid, which is two weeks in most states and even three weeks in Colorado, and only in Illinois, Wisconsin, Nevada, Texas, West Virginia and Ohio, has it been reduced to one week, so that under ordinary circumstances the injured employee may have to wait three weeks before

he gets his first compensation, but seldom are the needs of injured or dependents provided for a sufficient length of time. There is usually a limitation of some 300, 400 or 500 weeks which in the case of permanently injured employees or widows and orphans, may prove to be entirely insufficient, and in addition, American compensation practice has created a new feature almost altogether absent in Europe, of so-called specific benefits for dismemberments. By this is meant a payment of compensation for a number of weeks specified in the law for such grave injuries as loss of part of body entirely irrespective of the need created by such injuries which usually is not at all uniform as between one man and another and one industry and another. The number of weeks for which compensation is payable in case of the loss of an arm, leg or any smaller part of an extremity, varies considerably as between states, but it may be said, that uniformly it is too short and the workman is deceived as to the total amount of compensation received because from the very first moment, and for a considerable time, he receives full compensation, that is, the full amount according to the legal standard, whether 50% or two-thirds, though he may continue earning some smaller amount. But the day must inevitably come when the payment of compensation will be discontinued entirely, though the earning capacity may not have returned.

### Legislation Becoming Worse.

It is a significant fact that while several acts have been substantially improved recently, and that the amendments in general are towards strengthening the compensation and increasing scales, as for instance in Massachusetts, and to a slight extent in Connecticut and Minnesota, nevertheless, the new acts passed in 1915, as a rule are of a much worse type. There is a very substantial danger in the American wage workers accepting the low standards of compensation through force of habit, and it must also be remembered, that little assistance can be expected from other social groups in increasing the compensation scale though such assistance was very effective originally in obtaining compensation acts. The introduction of compensation was demanded on general public considerations, and it was even argued that the compensation laws would prove of advantage both to employer and employee. Whatever the accuracy of such a claim, it is quite obvious that a further improvement of the low standards prevailing in most of the acts will entirely devolve upon effective efforts of the working men alone.

## Compensation Legislation in the United States.

States	Legal status of act	When compensation went into effect	Waiting period	General level of compensation	Limits for disability benefits
Arizona	Compulsory	Sep. 1912	2 w.	50 % of wages	240 w.
California	Compulsory	Sep. 1911	2 w.	65 %	
Colorado	Elective	Sep. 1915	3 w.	50 %	
Connecticut	Elective	Aug. 1915	10 days	50 %	520 w.
Illinois	Elective	Jan. 1914	1 w.	50 %	416 w.
Indiana	Elective	May 1912	2 w.	50 %	300 w.
Iowa	Elective	Sep. 1915	2 w.	55 %	400 w.
Kansas	Elective	Jul. 1914	2 w.	50 %	416 w.
Kentucky	Elective	Jan. 1912	2 w.	50 %	335 w.
Louisiana	Elective	Aug. 1916	2 w.	65 %	400 w.
Maine	Elective	Jan. 1915	2 w.	50 %	500 w.
Maryland	Elective	Jan. 1916	2 w.	50 %	416 w.
Massachusetts	Compulsory	Nov. 1914	2 w.	66 2/3 %	500 w.
Michigan	Elective	Jul. 1912	2 w.	50 %	500 w.
Minnesota	Elective	Sep. 1912	2 w.	50 %	550 w.
Montana	Elective	Oct. 1915	2 w.	50 %	300 w.
Nebraska	Elective	Jul. 1914	2 w.	50 %	300 w.
Nevada	Elective	Nov. 1912	2 w.	50 %	100 mos.
New Hampshire	Elective	Jul. 1911	2 w.	50 %	300 w.
New Jersey	Elective	Jan. 1912	2 w.	50 %	312 w.
New York	Compulsory	Jul. 1911	2 w.	66 2/3 %	life
Ohio	Compulsory	Jul. 1914	1 w.	66 2/3 %	312 w.
Oklahoma	Compulsory	Jan. 1912	2 w.	50 %	life
Oregon	Elective	Sep. 1915	2 w.	50 %	life
Pennsylvania	Elective	Jul. 1913	none	\$30—50	life
Rhode Island	Elective	Jan. 1916	2 w.	50 % of wages	300 w.
Texas	Elective	Oct. 1912	2 w.	50 %	300 w.
Vermont	Elective	Sep. 1913	2 w.	60 %	400 w.
West Virginia	Elective	Jul. 1915	2 w.	50 %	260 w.
Washington	Elective	Oct. 1913	1 w.	50 %	life
Wisconsin	Compulsory	Oct. 1911	none	\$20—35	life
Wyoming	Compulsory	May 1911	1 w.	65 % of wages	480 w.
		Apr. 1915	10 days	lump sum	\$3000
Alaska	Elective	Jul. 1915	2 w.	lump sum	\$6000
Canal Zone	Compulsory	Apr. 1914	7 days	50 - 75 % of wages	412 w.
Hawaii	Compulsory	Jul. 1915	2 w.	60 %	312 w.
U. S. Act.	Compulsory	Aug. 1908	15 days	100 % of wages	1 year

**SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT AND LABOR.**

By JOHN P. FREY.

A few years ago a few industrial establishments introduced a system of management which, its advocates announced, was revolutionary in its results. The system was called Scientific Management. It was applied in government arsenals, and a strike of molders against some of its features resulted. Congress appointed a committee, consisting of William B. Wilson, William C. Redfield and John Q. Tilson to investigate the system as applied at the Watertown arsenal. This committee sustained labor's contention that (1) the system forced abnormally high speed upon the workmen, (2) that its disciplinary features were arbitrary and harsh, and (3) that the use of a stop-watch and the payment of a bonus were injurious to the worker's manhood and welfare.

The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations ordered a further investigation of "Scientific Management." Robert E. Hoxie, Robert G. Valentine and John P. Frey were chosen to undertake this work. This committee investigated thirty-five establishments and interviewed many individuals including Frederick W. Taylor, Harrington Emerson, and H. L. Gantt, the leading exponents of "Scientific Management," organized and unorganized workers.

Difficulty was experienced in getting a satisfactory definition of "Scientific Management." The committee finally decided that it meant "any of the systems of shop management which claim to secure greater productive efficiency through the systematic standardization of the elements of production." There were many charlatans in the field, and the bona-fide systems suffered from the defects of the fraudulent systems. But the committee investigated only the authenticated systems. It is claimed by the advocates of "Scientific Management":

I. That when applied to industry it would eliminate waste by systematizing and standardizing the elements of production;

II. That it would make the workers more efficient through the special instructions and training it provided for;

III. That it would safeguard them from injustice and the arbitrariness of employers and managers;

IV. That it would protect them from over-exertion;

V. That it would provide for higher wages;

VI. That it would eliminate industrial strife,

### The Case Against.

Against these claims stand the following conclusions:

I. That inequalities, variations and contradictions are found in establishments applying "Scientific Management."

II. That "Scientific Management" makes the workers over-exert themselves.

III. That it creates shop jealousies.

IV. That it enables foremen to play favorites.

V. That it makes workers shirk work, leaving the task more difficult for those next in line for the handling of material.

VI. That it often forces high grade workmen to bear a large part of the burden of experiments, and to work out new material without any adequate remuneration.

VII. That time-study is largely a matter of the time-study man's personal judgment.

VIII. That, in the great majority of cases there is no system of training intended to develop competent craftsmen. "Scientific Management" leads to overspecialization.

IX. That manual skill is not being developed.

X. That workers are made dependent upon the functional foremen and the planning room for craft and mechanical knowledge.

XI. That collective bargaining and negotiations relative to terms of employment and conditions of labor between employer and workers is eliminated, as the employers arbitrarily determine:

(a) All shop rules.

(b) Rate of wage.

(c) Method of payment (bonus, premium, differential piece systems).

(d) Hours of labor.

(e) Industrial training.

(f) Methods of dealing with complaints.

(g) Hiring and discharging.

(h) Facilities for performing work.

From the report of the investigating committee for the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations we quote the following:

"'Scientific Management' at its best and adequately applied, exemplifies one of the advanced stages of the industrial revolution which began with the invention and introduction of machinery. Because of its youth and the neces-



sary application of its principles to a competitive state of industry, it is in many respects crude, many of its devices are contradictory of its announced principles, and it is inadequately scientific. Nevertheless, it is to date the latest word in the sheer mechanics of production and inherently in line with the march of events.

"Our industries should adopt all methods which replace inaccuracy with accurate knowledge and which systematically operate to eliminate economic waste. 'Scientific Management' at its best has succeeded in creating an organic whole of the several departments of an institution establishing a co-ordination of their functions which had previously been impossible, and, in this respect, it has conferred great benefits on industry. The Social Problem created by 'Scientific Management' does not lie in this field. It is in its direct and indirect effects upon labor that controversy has arisen, and it was in this field that the investigation was principally made. For the present, the introducers and appliers of 'Scientific Management' have no influences to direct them, except where labor is thoroughly organized, other than their ideals, personal views, humanitarianism or sordid desire for immediate profit with slight regard for labor's welfare.

"Neither organized or unorganized labor finds in 'Scientific Management' any adequate protection to their standards of living, any progressive means for industrial education, or any opportunity for industrial democracy by which labor may create for itself a progressively efficient share in efficient management. And therefore, as unorganized labor is totally unequipped to work for these human rights it becomes doubly the duty of organized labor to work unceasingly and unswervingly for them, and if necessary, to combat an industrial development, which not only does not contain conditions favorable to their growth, but in many respects is hostile soil."

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A strike always succeeds in proportion as it arouses thought, particularly on the part of those who are disposed to condemn it thoughtlessly.

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The "innocent third party" has its rights in the case of a strike, of course. But it has no right to compel the resumption of work by the strikers in order simply that it may be spared inconvenience.

## CO-OPERATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY CHEVES WEST PERKY.

It is strange how many persons know nothing of the co-operative movement, that economic dynamite so close to us; that force almost great enough to blow up the existing order, and which, working with organized labor and the socialist movement, will, doubtless, sooner or later reconstruct society.

If few are familiar with co-operation in its technical sense, still fewer distinguish between the industrial, the agricultural and the consumers' forms of the movement, or guess at the superior value of the latter. Even government officials, engaged in fostering agricultural co-operation, not only do not make these distinctions, but do not distinguish between a democratically managed co-operative store, based on open membership and equal voting to all, and a joint stock company, voting by shares, but calling itself Co-operative Building and Loan Associations. It is true, credit associations, fire and life insurance associations are known commonly, but unsuspected of any revolutionary taint.

Twenty years ago, however, the concept of co-operation was much discussed by economists and sociologists, though it is now relegated to the dust of the last century by these students. Radicals, when interested, cling obstinately to industrial-productive co-operation, a sort of colorless syndicalism, sanctioned in theory but practically discarded by all. If Labor also shakes its head with a sigh, it is not to be thought that Labor has given the subject no attention. On the contrary, in no country has Labor given more persistent effort to strengthen itself by this means. Moreover, immigrants bring from Europe an understanding of the movement. Since 1830 Labor has tried repeatedly to arm itself with this weapon; and even now there are indications that it has begun again to brood over the idea of co-operation.

The Inter-collegiate Socialist Society has received letters from numbers of Labor officials expressing deep interest in the subject and from several Labor organizations which have appointed committees to investigate its possibilities. There is no more moving bit of Industrial history than the expressions of joy and renewed courage recorded by labor organizations as they again and again endorse the idea of co-operation: "We hail with delight the organization of co-operative stores and workshops and would urge their formation in every section of the country and in every branch of business"; and yet the student knows well that all this enthusiasm and self-sacrifice had to end as it did, in loss, failure and discouragement.

### Many Failures.

While the history of the movement in this country is both interesting and accessible, the present status of the movement is obscure, and few facts and statistics can be stated with any degree of accuracy. In general it can be said that there is no unified workmen's co-operation in America, though there are a number of sporadic co-operative organizations, and groups of these. There is, of course, a large agrarian movement in co-operation, estimated by the Agricultural Department at 7,000 co-operatives; or, including credit, life and fire-insurance, telephone, and building-and-loan associations, at 85,000 co-operatives. There are practically no industrial-productives in co-operation; a few bakeries, mills and laundries; and a very few factories which are probably not strictly co-operative. There may be 500 stores. Kansas, the old seat of an active consumers co-operative movement, is reported through a letter to have 200 stores. J. H. Walker, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, estimates 100 stores in that state. There were several fairly authentic estimates made in different states in 1913 and 1914, not to be relied upon now. For 1914 and 1915 were fatal years for store co-operatives. The very lively New Jersey movement lost most of its stores about this time. The Pennsylvania state movement, vigorous in 1909, was disrupted and many of its stores lost by 1915. One hundred and forty stores listed a few years ago by the Right Relationship League of Minnesota, have apparently been failing, and before 1916 they had lost their organ, their wholesale, and their newly instituted chain-store venture. So also, many of the ninety stores in Wisconsin, estimated by Prof. Weld, have returned to the Co-operative League of America unopened letters marked "out of business" and "unclaimed."

From the fifty-eight stores mentioned in Prof. Ford's book in 1913, twenty-two have returned letters unopened and mostly marked "out of business." Even the most highly organized of all, the California movement, recently abandoned its wholesale department but decline had already set in by 1905 and its figures had fallen from about one hundred to forty stores in 1911, as reported by Ira B. Cross.

The latter day failure of co-operative stores has not yet been accounted for. Indeed the whole subject cries for investigation. The thing has been attempted from time to time; by Albert Shaw and others in 1888 (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Political and Social Science); by Bemis in 1896 (Bulletin No. 6, U. S. Dept. of Labor); by Cross in 1905 (Wisconsin Bureau of Labor Statistics); by Sinclair (Wisconsin State Board of Public Affairs) and a recent most

thorough investigation of the New England States by Prof. Ford of Harvard University.

### Signs of Revival.

Then, certain external forces are stimulating the movement. The Agricultural Department, in its work of fostering productive co-operation, has organized a movement which has here and there been observed to exploit certain consumers' co-operatives; and which, it has been predicted, must eventually clash horns with the consumers' movement; yet, it must be granted, the Department has done much to re-awaken the idea of co-operation; and the agrarians are procuring laws in about thirty states that experience has proven are necessary to the stability and expansion of co-operation. Moreover, it is significant, that although the number of such stores may not be increasing, there is a widespread attempt at union. The following are some of the most important:

1914—Conference of sixty stores belonging to Washington State Federation; Conference of Consumers Co-operative Union, New York, 16 stores represented; National Conference in Chicago to federate all consumers' bodies, formed National Committee on Co-operative Federation; Conference of 12 stores and 1 mill in Chicago—formed the American Co-operative Organization Bureau; Conference in Madison, Wis.

1915—Conference of 60 stores in Iowa to federate, and another of 22 stores in 1916; First National Conference of Producers and Consumers, Minneapolis Union of Farmers & Labor Union Co-operatives; A union of Farmers union stores in Texas, organizing stores and mills on the "O'Brien plan." And 1916 in Texas, a conference of Socialists, grangers, Labor unions and others to federate co-operative stores.

And finally and most important:

First annual convention of the local co-operative stores of Illinois and the Co-operative Society of Illinois.

Thirty miners' stores have been federated with seventeen farmers' stores and six others—fifty-three in all, affiliated with, but not financed by, the Illinois Federation of Labor and Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of Illinois. This group holds a conference July 29, 1916, when it hopes to launch a wholesale. Were it not for this active and rapidly expanding Illinois movement, led by John Walker and Duncan McDonald, and for the Finnish federation of

about sixty stores and a wholesale at Duluth, we should have reason for discouragement.

### Right and Wrong Methods.

But students of foreign co-operation believe that the movement here is bound to grow in spite of the requiescat pronounced over its remains by our sociologists. Upon the logical necessity for such a development the Co-operative League of America, initiated by Albert Sonnichsen, William Kraus and James P. Warbasse, has organized a propaganda campaign, and, hoping for the support of the Consumers' Co-operative Union of New York and that of other societies, it is actively working for the union of all Consumers' Co-operatives. Should such a federation be effected an incalculable advance would result. The basis for a workingmen's movement still survives, but, to compete with a highly developed capitalism, co-operation must start from a certain degree of organization. If we could once form a national union in touch with the stores in all parts of the country and own our wholesales, the trick would be done. How are we to get this initial organization? Labor has been patient, but has it been scientific? We must carefully analyze the situation and difficulties: large area, heterogeneous and fluid population, thriftless habits of workers, etc. These are difficulties, but nothing more. Extent of area and heterogeneity of population merely demand elaboration of organization. Thrift is not a necessary factor could we substitute another stimulus to co-operators: e. g., class-consciousness. Before those hindrances should be labelled insuperable obstacles, we should further carefully examine our history and methods. Has not our work been empirical, for the most part? A matter of trial and error? Have we studied and applied the successful foreign methods of co-operation?

In the **first place**, for decades the co-operative movement in America was organically united with the labor unions. Experience in most other countries has shown that this union is apt to increase the difficulties. And organized labor in America has had to fight to keep its head above water. Several times when it was temporarily submerged a promising co-operative beginning was dragged under with it.

**Secondly**, for a long time our methods were not scientific; we neglected to study either the English or German methods. We did not sell at market price; our capital stock was not paid in; we paid high dividends; we gave credit; we did not allow for depreciation of stock, etc. Indeed, several of our early movements were merely club— or commission buying on a large scale. Even now, strictly democratic management and Rochdale methods are exceed-



ingly rare. Nor do the stores protect themselves against exploitation by money-seekers within their ranks.

**Thirdly**, we have not pushed a vigorous campaign to obtain protective laws. In many states, stores must, to get limited liability, incorporate under corporation laws and, therefore, members have a voice in the management proportionate to the numbers of shares owned, instead of an equal voice, as in a true co-operative. To evade this, in some regions—Illinois, for instance, the stores limit to one the number of shares owned by one person. There are also legal difficulties in forbidding the transfer of stock—a prohibition necessary to the protection of a co-operative; and difficulties in the way of one society owning stock in another—an essential feature in the organization of a co-operative wholesale. One reads how government persecution in Germany stimulated co-operation. But this suppression of co-operation by *laissez faire* methods is quite another thing. The English movement floundered like ours until protective laws were obtained; and then astonishing strides were made.

**Fourthly**, we have no energetic propaganda. Enlightened men and women still think of co-operation as a middle-class, shop-keeping affair; a bourgeois, penny-saving device. It would be easy to convince them that only the penniless will use a penny-saving device. And that it is not middle-class because it bases itself upon the consumer and is therefore open to all. It is indeed only available to those who can conceive and practice a democratic form of government; by its nature, therefore excluding the undemocratic and commercial. Agricultural co-operation may or may not be commercial; and here and there some subsidiary idea, such as "pure food," may support a middle-class consumer's society; but, as a matter of fact, not more than two or three middle-class consumers' societies have ever been recorded, aside from the co-operatives which are seldom true co-operatives. A middle class consumers' co-operative has no *raison d'être*. The necessity which drives to the conception of a co-operative, the zeal, loyalty and sacrifice necessary to maintain one, are products of a working class, and the more class-conscious the co-operative, the more successful it is.

**Finally**, industrial productive co-operation has ever been the dream of American Labor. It has been tried even more faithfully and futilely, than distributive co-operation. But have we closely studied in the history of other countries the theory and practice of the different modes of co-operation? In Italy, alone, has the co-operative factory been able to keep a footing. Fostered by the government and zealously begun in France, the workshops are not fulfilling the hopes of their founders. The goal of co-operation is, truly, control of the

tools of industry, but, in grasping at this by means of the co-operative factories, Labor has been uncontrolled and unscientific. When Organized Labor has grown strong enough to throw off the existing machinery of organization which now grips it; when it once more thinks and acts for itself, it will certainly take hold of a systematized, well considered plan of co-operation—that which is already, quietly transforming the industrial world abroad. Success is not to be hoped for until working-class consumers have organized in sufficient strength to own their own wholesales and factories, and have learned a social point of view equal to running these industries. If the struggle of Labor to get control of Industry shall not have socialized it, the case appears to be hopeless,—at least for a long time. For where shall we look for a more efficient social schooling? And this mental attitude is the *sine qua non* of industrial freedom.

### The Belgian Example.

Hence, to return to and close with our own problem, the Belgian, non-dividend paying method of co-operation, the social centre, social service co-operative would seem most desirable for us. And there are strong indications that the Belgian idea is that best adapted to the psychology of our people. We are not shop keepers by nature, but are a fun-loving people. In substantiation of this observation many of the most successful American associations are imbued with this social spirit; notably: Charleroi, with its branch stores; The Workingmen's Co-operative of Queens County, New York; the Purity Co-operative of Paterson, New Jersey; the West Hoboken Co-operative; the Haledon Co-operative; the Central Labor Council Co-operative of Charleston, W. Virginia; the North American Co-operative of Philadelphia; the Svea Co-operative of Minnesota; and much of the Illinois movement show a marked tendency to emphasize the social rather than the pecuniary advantages of co-operation.

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It is only in the case of a strike that we appreciate the full depth of the employer's regard for the sanctity of contract.

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Reformers generally would succeed better if they were to give less attention to the effects of the strike and more to the causes thereof.

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The labor press is the only remaining free press.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.  
**COMPULSORY EDUCATION LAWS.**

BY BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG.

Every State in the Union has upon its statutes laws making school attendance compulsory for young children. The minimum of school attendance for each year is usually prescribed, and the age limit is steadily being advanced. In every State also, exceptions are made, or "Exemptions," as they are called, permitting non-attendance to certain classes of children, or to all children under certain conditions. The tendency, however, is to reduce the exemptions. For example, many states exempt children residing beyond a certain distance from the nearest school; progressive localities provide suitable transportation. Or, children suffering from various physical or mental defects are exempted; progressive communities make special provision for handicapped children, and so on. The exemption of the children of the poor, on the ground that their services are needed to help in the support of the family, or on the ground that the parents can not afford suitable clothing, still holds in many states, although it is coming to be generally recognized that however indigent the parents of a child may be, it is poor economy for the community to permit the child to escape an education. The states in which this class of exemption still holds may be considered as socially backward. There are eighteen states in this class. Ten states leave considerable discretion to local authorities in exempting children from school attendance, and thus leave the door open for the escape of the needy children from suitable supervision and instruction. On the other hand, five of the states (Michigan, Montana, Ohio, Oklahoma and Vermont) require that wherever necessary financial assistance shall be furnished to families to make school attendance of children possible.

**Minimum Schooling.**

In Kentucky, North Carolina, Texas and Virginia children may leave school and go to work at twelve years of age—and in Virginia, if the child is "able to read and write" he need not attend school at all. In ten states (California, Minnesota, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont and Washington) the age of compulsory attendance extends to 15 years, or 16 (Oklahoma, South Dakota; and for girls in Ohio). Beginning in 1917, Alabama and New York will also be in the 15 year class. In the states not mentioned, the age is 14 years. For illiterates, and for children who have not completed a certain amount of schooling (usually the sixth grade) 28 states require attendance up to the age of 16 years, either in regu-

lar schools or in special day or evening schools; and three states (Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Wisconsin) require supplementary school attendance of all illiterate minors. Mississippi has no provisions for compulsory school attendance.

In seventeen states the length of the school year required by law is less than six months; in sixteen states it is 7 months (140 days) or more. In seven states (not counting Mississippi) the law is satisfied if children of school age attend from thirty to eighty days a year.

### Elimination of Children from School.

In a study made by Dr. Leonard P. Ayres of the Russell Sage Foundation, it was found that in the 78 cities investigated half the children leave school before they are fourteen years old, and half leave before completing the sixth school grade. Many cities and many rural communities make a better record, of course, but if these figures are true for the country as a whole, the rising generation is not receiving adequate preparation either for citizenship or for effective economic service. It is the poorly educated who furnish the most easily exploited workers, and the most easily controlled voters. Moreover, these children are not properly prepared for healthy living or for the suitable use of such leisure as they may manage to get.

The conditions in the most prosperous cities are none too good. The following table shows the number of children who left school on employment certificate during the year 1914-15, in New York.

### Distribution of Children Who Received Employment Certificates, New York City, Year Ending June 30, 1915.

	Boys	Girls	Total
Total Certificates Issued .....	20,207	14,773	34,980
Public School children .....	17,317	12,874	30,191
Private and Parochial .....	2,890	1,899	4,789

Of these 34,980 children 15,423 or 44.85% had not completed the seventh school grade. This group was distributed as follows:

	Boys	Girls	Total
Public School children 7,334 : 42.35%	5,339 : 41.47%	12,673 : 41.31%	
Private and Parochial 1,600 : 55.36%	1,150 : 65.59%	2,750 : 57.42%	

Of the 34,980 children, 20,695 or 59.2% were under fifteen years old. This group was distributed as follows:

	Boys	Girls	Total
Public School children 10,120 : 58.4 %	7,402 : 57.5 %	17,522 : 58. %	
Private and Parochial 2,061 : 71.3 %	1,113 : 55.7 %	3,174 : 66.3 %	

Unsatisfactory as are the public schools in many respects, data from all parts of the country indicate that they are for the most part superior to the parochial schools, and that they are excelled by very few of the private schools. From the figures in the foregoing table, which are in harmony with data from other cities, it will be seen that in general the children in the private and parochial schools do not average as much preparation as do those in the public schools.

### MORTALITY IN SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

(From Bulletin No. 1, U. S. Bureau of Education, 1916.)

One of the most alarming features in our schools is the great mortality in school attendance as shown by a table in the Bulletin of the Bureau of Education. The bulletin quotes from a device shown at the San Francisco Exhibition, that for every

60 pupils entering school in 1897-98,  
53 were in the fourth grade in 1900-1901,  
25 were in the eighth grade in 1904-5,  
15 entered high school in 1905-6,  
5+ completed high school in 1909-10,  
3 were in college in 1910-11,  
1 graduated from college in 1915.

### ATTENDANCE AND EXPENDITURE (1912-13).

(From Report of Commissioner of Education, 1914, Pt. II, pp. 11, 14, 18, 19.)

	Average number of days attended by each pupil enrolled	Per cent. of school population enrolled	Expenditure per capita total pop- ulation	Average expenditure per capita, school population
Alabama .....	74.3	60.95	\$1.82	\$5.74
Arizona .....	110.6	62.18	7.49	30.57
Arkansas .....	82.5	82.43	2.58	8.21
California .....	129.9	86.18	9.58	49.28
Colorado .....	118.7*	85.84	7.39	31.58*
Connecticut .....	144.4	76.32	5.79	25.22
Delaware .....	106.7	69.88	2.93	11.86†
Dist. of Col. ....	138.8	83.95	8.72	43.80
Florida .....	86.3	69.51	3.19	11.11
Georgia .....	92.0	67.59	1.97	6.18
Idaho .....	115.2	88.89	9.53	36.11
Illinois .....	138.2	69.53	6.45	26.19
Indiana .....	121.3	77.94	6.90	27.61
Iowa .....	131.5	83.61	7.04	26.79
Kansas .....	129.1	84.54	6.42	24.27
Kentucky .....	77.2	77.51	2.89	9.83
Louisiana .....	89.0	53.69	2.77	8.85
Maine .....	129.4	80.66	4.75	20.75
Maryland .....	116.3	68.16	3.75	14.29
Massachusetts .....	154.1	70.35	6.61	29.62



Michigan .....	132.4	79.21	6.40	26.00
Minnesota .....	121.8	76.00	7.23	26.71
Mississippi .....	75.4	80.65	1.50	4.59
Missouri .....	115.2	78.88	4.63	17.75
Montana .....	119.8	84.04	10.54	48.99
Nebraska .....	121.6	84.81	7.48	27.55
Nevada .....	107.0*	71.40	6.60	40.24*
New Hampshire .....	136.3	65.01	4.24	19.12
New Jersey .....	144.4	72.61	8.28	34.50
New Mexico .....	88.8	60.13	3.01	10.40
New York .....	150.6	67.27	6.39	28.09
North Carolina .....	83.1	80.84	1.76	5.48
North Dakota .....	104.1	76.59	8.82	31.35
Ohio .....	132.0	74.17	6.31	26.70
Oklahoma .....	79.8	78.98	4.15	13.53
Oregon .....	121.3	87.56	7.99	36.39
Pennsylvania .....	137.3	66.47	5.74	23.05
Rhode Island .....	154.2	62.87	4.69	20.26
So. Carolina .....	60.0	68.81	1.64	4.91
So. Dakota .....	110.5*	74.55	6.39	23.08*
Tennessee .....	88.8	80.94	2.62	8.73
Texas .....	89.0*	63.53	3.48	11.09*
Utah .....	128.7	80.61	9.95	34.26
Vermont .....	130.6	77.36	5.39	23.17
Virginia .....	89.8	66.18	2.62	8.63
Washington .....	131.4	78.06	9.37	42.76
West Virginia .....	95.8	76.70	3.88	13.42
Wisconsin .....	123.3	63.94	5.25	19.11
Wyoming .....	101.2	81.68	6.47	31.47

\* Figures of 1911-1912.

† Approximate.

## THE HEALTH OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.

By EDWARD F. BROWN.

The city of New York spends per capita \$40 annually on educating its children in elementary schools, and 44 cents on medical attention for these children.

The professional staff employed to supervise the health of school children in Greater New York includes exclusive of miscellaneous help, 100 doctors, 200 nurses, and 9 dentists.

There are approximately one million children enrolled in the free schools of the city.

The staff of doctors and nurses is so inadequate that it is only possible to examine a child for physical defects once in three years.

A doctor has approximately 10,000 and a nurse 5,000 children to care for.

Studies have shown that the best work can be done when a doctor has 1,500 and a nurse 1,500 children.

The physical defects found in an examination of one-third of the school enrollment follow:

Defective vision .....	27,534
Defective hearing .....	1,899
Defective nasal breathing .....	28,877
Diseased tonsils .....	36,153
Pulmonary disease .....	589
Heart disorders .....	3,980
Nervous affections .....	1,970
Orthopedic defects .....	1,855
Defective nutrition .....	16,181
Defective teeth .....	187,545

Thus 71% of those examined are in need of medical treatment.

Of those found defective physically, 81,569, or approximately 23%, are reported to have had the needed attention.

The reason for this small percentage securing treatment may be said to be poverty, ignorance, indifference. These are most frequently interrelated.

For those too poor to go to a private doctor or dentist, there are 9 dentists and 6 eye specialists employed. Naturally these meagre facilities are always overcrowded.

On exactly the same basis that education is free—and attendance at school compulsory—so must health be made free—and its acquisition compulsory, up to the limit of each individual's capacity.

Medical inspection of school children is provided by law in 22 states. In addition, 9 others provide some form of health protection, chiefly in the form of exclusion for contagious disease.

In thirty states instruction in health is required in all public schools; but in 17 of these, the "physiology and hygiene" required is qualified by the clause "in relation to the effects of alcohol and narcotics," etc. While this aspect of health should be properly presented, experience shows that where this is made the main object, the health instruction is likely to be of very little value. Two states require health instruction only in relation to alcohol and narcotics; and in 16 states no requirements whatever are made. Physical training was prescribed by state law in only four states before this year.

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No man can ever gain an understanding of the labor movement as long as he harbors the fallacy that the strike or boycott is a creation of the "labor leader."

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The only entirely reliable "Friend of Labor" is labor itself.

**FEDERAL AID FOR THE COMMON SCHOOLS.**

BY WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

By whatever standard we may judge, the American public schools fall scandalously short of what they should be. Our national educational expenditures, public and private, from kindergarten to university are only about \$800,000,000 a year—a sum that will soon be exceeded by our military budget. The public primary and secondary schools take about \$550,000,000. The nation spends \$1,200,000,000 on tobacco and nearly \$2,000,000,000 on alcohol.

A modern primary and secondary education of the best existing type gives a training in which mere literacy, the ability to read and write, plays a very small part.

**Illiteracy.**

The portion of our population (continental United States) 10 years of age and over unable to read and write, has steadily declined since 1870, as shown in this table:

1870	20.0 per cent
1880	17.0
1890	13.3
1900	10.7
1910	7.7

The composition of the illiterate group is shown in the following table, for the census-year 1910:

(Ten years and over)	Total	Illiterate	Per cent.
Native white .....	50,989,343	1,535,530	3.0
Foreign born white .....	12,944,215	1,650,519	12.8
Colored .....	7,646,712	2,331,559	30.5
Total .....	71,580,270	5,517,608	7.7

The illiterates were chiefly divided between the Negroes, and the "poor whites" of undeveloped districts of the South.

In 1910 New York City had 406,000 such persons, 362,000 of these being foreign-born.

**The Cost of Schooling.**

The average amount expended per public school child in the United States in 1914 was \$27 a year. The conservative educational authority, Ex-President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard, calculated ten years ago that it ought to be from \$60 to \$100. (See his book, "More Money for the Public Schools.")

Allowing for the increased cost of living, the expenditure should now be from \$100 to \$125 a year—the last men-

tioned sum being, of course, for the large cities where rents and all other expenses are the highest.

Ex-President Eliot believes that the **maximum** common school class should have 15 pupils. Other educational authorities place the maximum at 20, 25 and 30. These standards would mean an **average** class of from 12 to 24 pupils. The typical classes in the great majority of public school systems are now over 40.

In view of the expense of a school teacher's training ample salaries should be paid. From the educator's standpoint a proper standard has nowhere been reached. Perhaps the nearest approach was in New York City when the beginning teacher's salary was fixed at \$600. But the cost of living has risen nearly 50 per cent since that time and there has been no substantial salary increase whatever for men, while women secured a moderate advance only through an "equal pay" law. Conditions are as bad, or worse, in the other large cities, and much worse in the country and small towns.

#### **A minimum common school program would require.**

(1) That classes should be reduced to one-half of the present size.

(2) That teachers' salaries should be doubled in most places, and largely increased even in the great cities.

This would mean that the cost of these schools would be increased to three or four times the present amount. This would require an additional billion or billion and a half dollars for the nation—which could easily be raised by a national income and inheritance tax heavily graduated against the wealthy classes—and entirely exempting the smaller incomes.

Such a policy, if applied to the secondary schools also, would not only increase the expense per pupil by three or four, but it would also double or treble the number of students who would find it economically worth while to attend these improved schools. For we can assume that the new expenditures in the secondary schools would largely take the form either of a general industrial or of a specialized technical education. The United States now expends only \$70,000,000 a year on its public secondary schools. It would then expend from \$420,000,000 to \$840,000,000—an outlay that surely ought to appeal to the "patriotic" advocates of national efficiency, since it would add several times their value to the national product—a large share of which would, of course, go to employers.

Thus the total expenditures for public, primary, and secondary schools together would increase from \$600,000,000

to \$2,000,000,000 or \$3,000,000,000—which corresponds to Eliot's estimate that we should and could spend four or five times as much as we do on public schools.

It will be some time before the majority of mere reformers gain the courage of their convictions and demand such expenditures—though these expenditures would be for the most important of all objects and would total less than our tobacco and alcohol bill.

A national organization for federal aid to education has already been launched, and seems ready to go as far as public opinion will justify. The new movement has received the endorsement of such leading educators as Professors Dewey, Monroe, and Kilpatrick of Columbia, Presidents Mezes of the College of the City of New York, Brown of New York University, and Edmund J. James of Illinois, and Dr. John H. Finley, Dr. Felix Adler, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Mrs. Florence Kelley. The movement is too new to have reached far from New York, where it was launched this May. But there is no doubt that it will secure the support of nearly all leading educators and reformers—and of all radicals.

## DEMOCRATIZING THE SCHOOLS.

By RANDOLPH BOURNE.

Democratic education is not simply a matter of providing common schooling for all children. It is not a matter of providing a uniform schooling for all children. A democratic school is one wherein children have equal opportunity to make what they can of themselves, and where each child has a chance to get what it needs. The American public school has been democratic in the sense that it has provided free schooling for all children. But in the other sense it has only begun to enter on the democratic stage.

The school has been primarily a bookish school. Its aim has been to teach the three R's, historical and geographical information, and perhaps a little drawing. In the higher grades it has shaped its work in mathematics and language and literature to prepare children for the college. It has sought to give this education uniformly to all, whatever the future vocation of the children taught. The result has been to ignore the differences in capacity and interests and to make the school really a vocational school for a restricted class, that is, the intellectually inclined. The children of the wage-earners too often had to leave school early and go into unskilled work or pick up their training as best they could outside the school. The school was free, but the



opportunities were not really equal, for the school discriminated in practice against the motor and manually-minded children.

### The "Gary Plan."

The progressive educational effort of today is directed toward repairing this inequality of opportunity, and providing a kind of school where the future wage-earner will have the same chance of training as the future professional man or woman of leisure. This is the purpose of the industrial training movement and of the introduction of commercial and industrial and domestic science courses in the high schools. But a more fundamental reorganization is needed. The roots must be laid in the elementary school before the child's interests have been dulled. An interesting attempt to reorganize the public school to meet the new demand is that made by Supt. William Wirt in the schools of Gary, Indiana. The "Gary plan" has aroused the widest public interest, and has been extensively experimented with in other cities, notably New York, where over fifty schools are in process of reorganization. The essence of the Gary plan is to provide the school with a great variety of activities—in play-grounds, gymnasiums, science laboratories, industrial and manual training shops, kitchens, sewing-rooms, gardens, school theatre, etc.—covering all the wholesome interests of children. The school day is lengthened to seven or eight hours, and the children are kept busy at work, study and play in the school instead of being turned out on the streets after a few hours of study. The regular studies are not neglected, but each child has a chance to try his hand at the activities that interest him. The younger child goes into shop or laboratory as observer or helper to the older child who is working there. He thus gets practical contact with tools and processes. He can sift out what he does not like, and discover what his real capacities are. If he wants to lay the foundation of a trade he can get the training there in the school shops. The shops are in charge of trained union mechanics who work on the school plant. The children learn by helping them on repairs and maintenance. Each child in such a school has a chance to get exactly the training which will be beneficial to him. The whole child is educated, mentally, manually, physically. There is no class-distinction between the intellectually-minded and the manually-minded. All have equal opportunity to develop in whatever direction they can.

The Gary plan widens the school opportunities in that it makes the school a wholesome environment of work, study and play from the child's earliest years. The more usual form of school reorganization, involving the so-called "junior

high school" plan, postpones industrial and technical work till the seventh or eighth years. The first six years are given over to books; after the sixth year the child chooses whether he shall go on to academic or manual training. The Gary plan puts all activities on an equal footing. It is held that this school gives greatest opportunities for the wage-earners' education, and equal opportunity for every child.

### VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.

By BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG.

After years of discussion of the need for industrial education, the thoughtful educators are coming to realize that what we need is not so much training for efficiency in industry as training for life in an industrial society. In the course of economic evolution the ownership of the land was first placed in the hands of a special class; the Single-taxers recognize this and expect to solve all problems by socializing the land. Then the industrial revolution segregated the tool-owning class—and we all recognize our dependence upon the owners of machinery and other forms of capital. But in the meanwhile a more subtle and insidious form of ownership has developed, incidental to the others—and that is the ownership of the world's technology. Whatever may be said of the foresight of the original fence-builders, in justification of private ownership of land, and whatever may be said in historical justification of the ownership of other forms of capital, it cannot be denied that the scientific and technical principles upon which modern industry rests are the resultants of the efforts and inspirations of millions of men and women, mostly dead—that these are no more the product of the present owners nor of isolated individuals than are language and customs and rituals. Yet the usufruct of this accumulated skill and invention is preempted by the owners of the machinery of production.

The importance of this fact for the workers is seen in connection with the minute subdivision of labor whereby the individual is deprived of the spiritual content of his work, and is at the same time prevented from having the material benefits that would enable him to obtain his spiritual satisfactions outside of his work. Educational organization and effort must take this situation into serious account.

### The True Basis of Education.

There must be first of all a more general acquaintance with those principles and activities that are at the foundation of all productive effort—handiwork for all children to the end that they become familiar with tools and materials and the principles of human control of force and matter. There

must then be an abundance of natural science for an understanding of the principles that are applied in our common machinery and appliances. In properly organized schools, these studies and activities, correlated with history, literature, art, dramatics, etc., will lead to the emergence of specialized talents that are of vocational significance, thus determining further special training for a certain portion of the children. For the mass of children, those who do not show any talents that are of significance vocationally there will have been laid a foundation of common experience which is essential for social integration in a democracy. Further education of the "masses," as well as of those who require further professional or technical training, should include comprehensive courses in economics and other social sciences, instruction in occupational hygiene, in the laws that apply to workers and working conditions, in practical civics and politics, and in the cultivation of special play or leisure interests.

That these principles are not utopian is attested by the experience of those states that have made the most far-reaching experiments in readjusting the educational work to meet the new conditions. Wisconsin has found that the continuation classes for young people who have gone to work have little opportunity to give valuable instruction in technical matters to the rank and file of the workers. Whatever need there may be for technically trained workers, the large mass seems doomed to be machine tenders. This doom is not in itself deplorable; it is devastating only because of the conditions of speed, time, sanitary conditions and inadequate return. Investigations have shown that routine work, however monotonous, may be entirely satisfactory to thousands of healthy and intelligent men and women if the conditions surrounding the work are suitable, and if there is adequate leisure and the opportunity to utilize it properly. In the continuation schools of Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio there is found the need for giving a great deal of "general" instruction in language, mathematics, history and civics, and so on. Industry demands specialized skill and speed in comparatively simple operations; the workers need an opportunity to live a human life and training for more favorable bargaining and for utilizing their slowly growing leisure.

### A Warning to Workers.

There is some danger that the agitation for vocational education will tend to bring about too early specialization of young children. This should be guarded against most jealously. There is positive danger that certain commercial

and industrial interests will seek to control the character of the new education in various communities. This must be strenuously resisted. Wherever the matter of vocational education is brought up the workers should see to it that whatever boards or committees may be established for advisory purposes should be joint boards, containing representatives of the organized workers as well as of the organized employers and of the general public or the educational authorities. The labor unions must be on their guard against the tendency to utilize the new education for the manufacture of cheap hands to replace older and more expensive workers.

## COMMUNITY CENTERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY JOHN COLLIER.

Community centers differ from evening lectures, night schools, supervised recreation centers, and other public activities in school buildings and park houses, in this vital particular; they are, or are in process of becoming, locally self-governed, and in some measure locally self-supporting. This distinction is, of course, a critical one from the standpoint of labor and of the radical movement.

There are not less than several thousand community centers in America. These community centers are not buildings, nor yet are they activities, although buildings and activities are implied. They are organizations of the people—community organizations having a more or less general purpose of co-operation, public service, civic self-education, and fraternity.

The activities which loom large in these community organizations include the following: maintenance of free forums; civic committees which co-operate with public officials and criticize them; dramatics, public dancing, and other social, recreation and art-activities; summer camps; bureaus for industrial placement. A single community center may include a hundred small groups which pursue their own activities but co-operate toward some object larger than their own.

Such a movement as the above will, as it expands, bring the whole people nearer both to administrative government and to the underlying policies of government, and will bring the governmental specialists back to the people. It will facilitate an interchange of views between groups and classes, through breaking down the innumerable isolations which mark off the intellectual, emotional and social life of one group of people from other groups, the community center

will accelerate the contagion of ideas. These facts must be significant to the radical movement.

In this brief statement, certain questions must be answered.

1. **Are the community centers actually free?** They will be free in proportion as the people take a responsible part. They are not operated, and cannot be, by public authority, but they make use of the facilities of public buildings, and must therefore work under charters or licenses issued by Boards of Education, City Commissions, etc. The policy of government toward community centers is gradually coming to be not a policy of regulation but a policy of encouragement and promotion in over a third of the country today. The community center movement is essentially free to go ahead in its own way, and the great present need is initiative, workers, members and real interests.

2. **If labor organizations enter the community center movement, will they jeopardize their own individualities?** The community center is not an organization of individuals, but rather an aggregation of groups. It encourages the life of special groups rather than otherwise. It enables these groups to co-operate with each other at points where their common interests drive forward in the same direction. Labor does not need to hold its own through sequestering its members. The center is the inevitable organizing point for the life of the majority of all the people, and need only become a conscious motive in order to gain power.

The best model for community center development is the Consumer's Co-operative Movement of Europe, which began with co-operation in the realm of material commodities and has evolved (as in Belgium) to a full co-operation in the things of the mind, the spirit, public affairs, etc. This model is consciously in the minds of many of the leaders of the American Community Center movement.

There is now a National Conference of Community Centers, representing 68 cities, which has held one national convention and will publish proceedings. Its headquarters are at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. A training school exclusively devoted to training organizers for community centers is maintained here.

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The necessity of industrial organization knows no law except that of human progress.

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The manhood of the striker must take precedence of the comfort of the public.



**ACADEMIC FREEDOM.**

By HARRY W. LAIDLER.

On June 17, 1915, Scott Nearing, assistant professor of economics of the Wharton School of Finance, University of Pennsylvania, was refused reappointment to the faculty by the Board of Trustees of that University. This discharge has brought the discussion of Academic Freedom in American Colleges to the very forefront. It also marks a new stage in the fight for free speech in our Universities.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, many professors, especially in denominational colleges, were discharged for expressing their belief in evolution. During the nineties, "heretical" views on the silver, monopoly and tariff questions caused many resignations. Among the well known professors who lost their positions at that time were:

President E. Benjamin Andrews of Brown University; Edward A. Ross and George E. Howard of Leland Stanford; John R. Commons of Syracuse and the University of Indiana; President Henry Wade Rogers of Northwestern; President Thomas E. Will and E. W. Bemis and Frank Parsons of the Kansas State Agricultural College, President George M. Steele of Laurence University and President H. E. Stockbridge of No. Dakota Agricultural College.

The present fight involves a contest for the privilege of expressing one's convictions regarding the very foundation of the present economic system, not only in the class room but in public. The facts in the Nearing case are briefly as follows:

Dr. Nearing was appointed instructor in economics at the University in the fall of 1906. He proved to be an unusually popular lecturer and rapidly forged ahead as a writer on questions of wages, social reform etc. He also frequently occupied the public rostrum and was vigorously opposed by the Board of Trustees and other conservative elements in Pennsylvania as a result of his keen criticisms of present conditions.

He was repeatedly recommended for promotion to assistant professorship by the economics faculty. For eight years he remained as an instructor and for six his salary continued the same. When this treatment failed to secure Dr. Nearing's resignation, an investigation into the teachings of the members of the economics faculty was conducted by Thomas S. Gates, Chairman of the Wharton School Committee and president of the Philadelphia Trust Company. The committee bemoaned the alleged efforts of some of the teaching force to preach class prejudice, and concluded:

"The committee takes this occasion to place itself on

record as squarely opposed to the use of the fair name of the University as a point of vantage for utterances foreign to the scheme of the teachings and ideals in education, and recommends that where members of the teaching staff are not willing to subscribe to its policies, their services should be dispensed with."

During the spring of 1915, Dr. Nearing was again recommended for reappointment, and it was assumed that the reappointment would be given. On June 17, when practically all college positions had been filled for the coming year, the board voted his discharge. The subsequent protest is too well known to require repetition. In the fall of 1915, Dr. Nearing was appointed dean of the University of Toledo, taking office January 1, 1916.

The rules of appointment and dismissal at the University of Pennsylvania have since been changed so as to prevent any recurrence of a discharge of that nature.

Others, whose discharges, forced resignations, a failure of reappointment during the last five years, have led to the accusation of infringement of academic freedom are:

**Dartmouth College.** G. B. L. Arner, instructor in Economics. Probable cause—Socialistic teachings. Other factors, including that of lecture form may have entered in.

**Florida, University of.** E. M. Banks, Professor of History. Cause—attitude on states rights.

**Lafayette.** John M. Mecklin, Professor of Philosophy. Cause—liberal views on philosophy; personal opposition of president.

**No. Dakota, University of.** Lewinsohn, Professor of Law. Cause—activity in Progressive politics.

**Rochester University.** Kendrick Shedd, Professor of German. Probable cause—public utterances regarding the flag and Socialism.

**Marietta College.** A. Ely Morse, Professor of Economics. Cause—advanced views on land and industrial problems, participation in Progressive politics.

**Wesleyan, Middletown, Conn.** Willard C. Fisher, Professor of Economics. Cause—advanced views on economic subjects, personal disagreement with president. Occasion for discharge—suggestion that churches close temporarily to help people to distinguish difference between lip service and genuine Christianity.

### 1915 Cases.

**Boston University.** Benjamin W. Van Riper, Professor of philosophy. Cause—failure to "manifest sufficiently vital interest in religious life."

**Colorado, University of.** James H. Brewster, Professor

of Law. Cause—according to Prof. Brewster, appearance before the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, in behalf of Colorado miners. Cause—according to the President—desire of governing body to obtain the services of younger men with more physical vigor. Both considerations seem to have entered into this case.

**Dartmouth.** George Clarke Cox, Assistant Professor of Philosophy. Probable cause—advanced philosophical and social views. No public explanation given by the president.

**Maryville College, Tenn.** Arthur W. Calhoun, Professor of Economics. Probable cause—economic radicalism. No public explanation given by President.

**Ohio State.** Dean Price, dean of the agricultural department. Probable cause—desire to obtain some professor as dean who as a member of the state board of agriculture, would be more amenable to certain interests.

**Utah, University of.** Prof. A. A. Knowlton. Cause—according to the President—"worked against the administration" and "spoke very disrespectfully of the chairman of the board of regents."

Associate Prof. Geo. C. Wise. Cause—according to the president—"spoke in a depreciatory way about the university before his classes," and "in a very uncomplimentary way about the administration."

Charles W. Snow and Phil. C. Bing, Instructors in English. Cause—according to the president—"services are no longer necessary."

As a result of the dismissals and the demotion of others at the University of Utah and as a further result of the "policy of repression, opportunism and dictation" at the University, fostered by certain individuals in the Mormon church, eighteen members of the faculty, including two deans and five heads of departments, resigned.

At several other universities pressure has, during the last year, been brought against the universities by the state legislatures. This has been notably the case at the universities of Wisconsin and Washington. Appropriations for current expenses and the construction of new buildings have been fought, tuition has been raised and members of the faculties have been attacked. A prominent member of the lower house of the Washington legislature went so far in 1915 as to urge the abolition of the department of Political and Social Science because "it was a hot bed of Socialism."

Academic Freedom is often repressed by refusing appointments to those who are not considered "safe" and by urging professors directly and indirectly to keep quiet along certain lines, for the sake of the institution or for the sake of themselves and families. The refusal to promote ■ mem-

ber who refuses to teach certain doctrines is frequently an effective way of repressing expression along "heretical" lines.

In an effort to safeguard members of the faculty against discharge for exercising their right of free speech, the American Association of University Professors, in their annual conference in December 1915, adopted the following significant demands:

(1) That no official action be taken relating to re-appointments or refusals of reappointment of members of the faculty before obtaining the advice and consent of a faculty committee.

(2) That in every institution a faculty member be given an unequivocal understanding as to the term of his appointment and that all positions above the grade of instructor, after ten years of service, be made permanent.

(3) That in each institution the grounds which are regarded as justifying a dismissal of members of the faculty be definitely formulated and the interpreting body be designated.

(4) That no person be dismissed without a fair trial by fellow members of the faculty or by fellow specialists or by representatives.

The adoption of these demands will be a long step toward converting the university from an "efficient oligarchy" into a genuine republic of letters.

## IMMIGRATION.

Immigration from July 1, 1914, to June 30, 1915, dropped to the lowest figure since 1899. Total arrivals, including temporary and non-immigrants, was 434,244, or 968,837 less than in the preceding year, a decrease of 69%. The cause of this decrease is the European war.

Emigration during the same period amounted to 384,174, a decrease of 249,631.

### Proposed Legislation.

For a number of years Congress has attempted to pass ■ more stringent restriction law. President Taft vetoed the Dillingham Bill on account of the "literacy-test" provision.

President Wilson in 1915 vetoed the Burnett Bill on the same ground, and because of the exclusion of revolutionists. The House failed by five votes to pass the Bill over his veto. Representative Burnett has re-introduced his Bill in the present Congress.

American Organized Labor has consistently backed up the effort to have a "literacy test" added to the restriction act. while Socialists have opposed this measure.

## THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

(Anti-Saloon League Year Book, 1915, pp. 92-95.)

Prior to January 1, 1915, the absolute prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes had been adopted by nine states—Maine, Kansas, North Dakota, Georgia, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Tennessee and West Virginia. The aggregate population of these nine states, according to the 1910 census, was 14,685,961. On January 1, 1915, the Prohibition amendment to the state constitution of Arizona, which had been adopted by a vote of the people on November 3, 1914, went into effect, thus making ten states with an aggregate population of 14,890,315 under Prohibition at the beginning of the year 1915.

In the fall elections of 1914 the states of Colorado, Oregon, Washington and Virginia, as well as Arizona, all adopted state-wide Prohibition, which went into effect on January 1, 1916, in the cases of Colorado, Oregon and Washington; the Virginia law not going into effect until November 1, 1916.

The 1915 legislatures in several states adopted state-wide Prohibition measures during the first sixty days of the sessions. The legislature of Alabama passed a state-wide prohibitory statute over the veto of the governor early in the legislative session. A stringent Prohibition law was passed by the legislature of Arkansas, putting that state under Prohibition January 1, 1916. The Iowa legislature repealed the Mulct act, thereby putting into full effect the old prohibitory law of the state. Idaho passed a state-wide Prohibition law which went into effect, January 1, 1916, and submitted a prohibitory amendment to be voted upon in 1916.

This makes, all told, eighteen states which are either under Prohibition at the present time or in which the prohibitory laws already adopted will go into effect in 1916. These eighteen states have an aggregate population of 25,828,613, according to the 1910 census.

One house of the legislature in each of the states of Montana, Utah and Vermont passed state-wide Prohibition measures early in 1915. Prior to January 1, 1915, the following states were under some form of local option: Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington and Wisconsin.

In South Dakota the law places all sections of the state under Prohibition except in political subdivisions where a majority of the electors indicate that they do not wish the



provision of the prohibitory law to apply. This same kind of law was in operation in Arkansas and Iowa until January 1, 1915.

Wyoming and New Mexico have prohibited the sale of liquors in all sections except certain classes of incorporated municipalities.

The states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Nevada are under license, not even a general local option law being operative in these three commonwealths.

The United States government has prohibited the liquor traffic in the Indian Territory, in certain portions of other territories, in military forts and reservations, in the United States Navy, in the National Capitol at Washington and in national and state soldiers' homes as well as in other specified areas under federal control. As a result of the operation of these several state and national laws, more than 47,000,000 of the population of the United States were living under Prohibition and more than 71 per cent of the entire area of the nation was Prohibition territory at the close of the year 1914. The adoption of Prohibition in the several additional states referred to above will increase the population living in Prohibition territory in 1916 by more than 4,000,000 and will increase the amount of territory under prohibition in the United States to 76 per cent.

### Nation-Wide Prohibition.

The following resolution calling for a national Prohibition amendment to the constitution came up before the House of Representatives on Dec. 22, 1914. One hundred and ninety-seven voted in favor of the measure and 189 against it. Since the resolution required a two-thirds majority, it failed of passage.

Section 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof and exportation thereof are forever prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress or the states shall have power independently or concurrently to enforce this article by all needful legislation.

(For socialist position on the temperance movement, see section on the Socialist Movement in the United States.)

## PART SIX.

# GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

## ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM.

By FREDERIC C. HOWE.

An element in the American patriotic programme is the organization of corporations for the promotion of overseas finance, under the title wrongly given to it of overseas trade. Its first expression is a gigantic \$50,000,000 "American International Corporation" organized by the same group in New York that controls the munition firms, that is financing the present war for the allies, and that is backing the preparedness movement. According to its promoters, the movement is to enable the United States to take a larger part than heretofore "in the industrial development of other countries where capital is needed."

The countries "where capital is needed" are not Great Britain, France and Germany, the great investing nations of Europe. The countries "where capital is needed" are Mexico, Central and South America, Morocco, Tunis, Persia, Africa, China and the insular possessions of the United States and elsewhere. They are the countries into which the financiers of Europe have dragged their foreign offices, their diplomacy, and finally their navies for the protection of their shady investments.

"Wealth is accumulating," so the announcement of the new corporation reads, "so rapidly that a portion of it can be spared for investment abroad. The experience which our people have had in large scale production and in extensive construction work, has especially fitted us to carry on development work in other countries."

### The Crime of Surplus Wealth.

"Surplus wealth" invested in weaker countries is the cause of more crimes, of the destruction of the liberties of more peoples, of the wastage of more men and wealth than any other single cause in the present generation. "Surplus wealth" invested abroad by the financiers of London, Berlin, Paris, Petrograd and Vienna is one of the hidden causes lying back of the present European war.

"Surplus wealth" lured Great Britain into Egypt. The English financiers made a loan to the Khedive in 1873 of \$410,000,000. They gave the Khedive only \$105,000,000 and kept \$305,000,000 as security. "Surplus wealth" bankrupted that country. It destroyed Egyptian independence; it was

followed by intervention and the bombardment of Alexandria to protect the loan. European contractors overcharged the Khedive from 80 to 400 per cent on construction work, and the creditors sometimes got as much as twenty-five per cent interest on their loans. This was the beginning of financial imperialism thirty-three years ago.

"Surplus Wealth" led France into Morocco. In six years time the indebtedness of the Sultan to the European financiers was increased from \$4,000,000 to \$32,000,500. The Sultan received but a small part of the loan. He went bankrupt. He could only pay the interest by wringing it from the wretched natives who finally revolted. France intervened at the demand of the bankers. She occupied Morocco contrary to her pledge to Germany and England. Thousands of Moors were slain. Germany sent a gunboat to protest. Europe was on the verge of war in 1911 through the greed and dishonesty of the French bankers. The Morocco incident is one of the hidden causes of the present European war.

"Surplus Capital" lured Germany into Turkey. There were railroads, mines, docks, harbors, and trading concessions waiting to be exploited. The banks earned \$25,000,000 commissions on building the Bagdad Railway, and besides saved \$45,000,000 more in the cost of construction; all of which was charged to the Turkish Government. The banker was followed by the Kaiser and his armies. Turkey has lost her independence; the Balkan States have been embroiled, and Europe is now at war over the conflicting interests of England, Germany and Russia in Turkey.

"Surplus Capital" negotiated the Six Power Loan to China. China wanted but \$30,000,000. The great banking institutions of the powers formed a combination and insisted that she take \$300,000,000, or ten times her needs. The loan was accompanied by demands by the bankers for control of the internal administration and revenue system of China. It struck at her very life, and China declined the terms.

"Surplus Wealth" aided in strangling Persia at the hands of Russia and England. It ended the independence of Tunis. According to President David Starr Jordan, the Italian war against Tripoli had its motive in the speculations of the Bank of Rome. In the Balkan war "the final victory rested with the French bankers who furnished the war funds." Turkey in Asia, he says, is dominated by the Deutsche Bank, that nation within a nation, which replaces the Sultan as master of the rest of his domain, and which drains for itself the riches of the land, exhausting, not the working class alone but ■ whole nation, which is dying from its operations.

"Surplus Wealth" for foreign investment drained France of capital needed for internal development. It weakened her in her war with Germany. The profits went not to the investors but to the banks which negotiated the loans.

Professor John Hobson, the English economist, says: "Adventure, lust for gold, etc., are the fires in the engine of war, but the great financial interests direct the engine."

It was "Surplus Wealth" invested in South Africa that brought on the Boer war at the instance of the British mine owners. It was "Surplus Wealth" that led to the spoliation of Mexico, the taking of her lands, mines, oil wells, and the richest portions of the country through bribes and the corruption of the officials of that country.

### The Demand for a Powerful Navy.

"Surplus Wealth" that can be "spared for investment abroad" gathered together from the savings of millions of people placed by them in the banks of the country, is now carrying on a campaign for dollar diplomacy and the building of a navy, to protect its investments, to enforce its demands, to insure its concessions—too often secured by fraud, by bribery and corruption, from revolutionary groups and fictitious governments. "Surplus Wealth" seeking profit in foreign lands is carrying on a campaign to send our sons to offer their lives as a sacrificial offering on the altar of profit wrung from weaker peoples.

Financial imperialism began with the occupation of Egypt by Great Britain in 1882. Since that time the doctrine that the flag follows the investor, has loaded the nations of Europe with a crushing burden of armaments that increase year by year with the size of the investments, and the control of the financiers of their respective governments.

If anyone questions the fact that the crushing armaments of Europe are due to the demand of the investors, he need only to compare the growth of expenditure for navalism with overseas finance. "Surplus Wealth" investment began in the nineties on the part of Great Britain, France and Germany. It has increased at the rate of over a billion dollars a year in the last few years. The foreign investment of these three powers alone now amounts to \$40,000,000,000.

Note how the expenditure for the navy has coincided with "Surplus Capital" in foreign lands:

	British	German
1893.....	\$71,075,000	\$20,310,000
1903.....	183,510,000	52,390,000
1911.....	203,015,000	90,860,000

Dollar diplomacy, navalism and the exploitation of weaker peoples, which ended finally in the European cataclysm, have gone hand in hand during the last twenty years. The darkest pages of this story will never be written, for the records lie buried in the graves of weak and defenseless peoples in every part of Africa, in Asia, in Turkey, Asia Minor and the Balkans.

### Footing the Bill of Imperialism.

Now somebody must support the police force that is to protect the overseas financiers; someone must pay for the army and the navy that is to serve the summons and make the arrests of bankrupt revolutionists and warring weaklings that have squandered the loans that the financiers have supplied to them. If railroad, mining, oil and land grants are revoked, if the natives will not work and turn on the overseer, someone must pay for the cost of restoring order. One would suppose that the financier would pay for his own policing; but no such suggestion has yet appeared in the programme of the big navy men. The programme now before Congress calls for a far simpler means of paying the bills. It is not to be done by the income tax; not by an inheritance tax; not by a tax even on the making of munitions and the things that the financiers own. Rather it is to be done in the good old way described by an honest but indiscreet French financier, who said that the way for monarchs to secure their taxes was "to pluck the goose without making it cry out." In other words the taxes are to be gotten by not letting the people know they are paying them. They are to be added to the cost of everything the people consume. They are to be collected from the comforts and necessities of the people. They are to be taken from sugar, gasoline, the customs and internal revenue taxes, all of which bear almost exclusively on the farmer and the worker. It is not important that no country in Europe has the courage or the meanness to collect so large a part of its revenue from the poor as does democratic United States; it is of no concern that ten-elevenths of our revenues come from taxes on consumption, and only one-eleventh from wealth, as opposed to 45% in Great Britain even before the war broke out. The cost of preparedness, colossal profits for the armament makers, protection to the financier in his foreign exploitation, is to be shifted to the backs of the worker and the farmer, whose sons are further to be permitted to offer their lives as privates in some unknown, uncivilized land where the investments lie.

The plan is so simple. And it has been worked so many times. But heretofore the thimble game has only been



worked in the capitals of Europe, where the people have no say about the rules of the game. But it is being tried in the United States. And behind it there is far more wealth than is concentrated in any group of men in all the world. Possibly that will make up for the fact that they have no Kaiser or Czar, no aristocracy or Junkers to put the programme over. But the game is the same in every particular, and it is the game that has drenched all Europe in blood.

## WAR, MILITARISM AND "PREPAREDNESS."

### The Cost of Militarism.

During the ten year period, 1905-1914, preceding the present war, the military appropriations, exclusive of war pensions, of the eight foremost militarist nations of the world, in millions of dollars, were as follows:

C O U N T R Y	Army	Navy	Totals
1. Russia .....	2,328	687	3,015
2. Gt. Britain .....	1,253	1,458	2,711
3. United States .....	1,423	1,254	2,677
(1906-1915)			
4. France .....	1,829	735	2,564
5. Germany .....	1,580	361	1,941
6. Italy .....	840	423	1,263
7. Austria-Hungary .....	648	111	759
8. Japan .....	314	170	484

The foregoing table shows that the United States ranked third in the race for military preparedness prior to 1915. As the present appropriations for army and navy have been doubled by Congress, this country is likely to lead the whole world in waste for militarism.

Moreover, this table shows that Russia, whose military and economic strength has partially broken down in the present war, was the leading preparedness country in terms of money prior to the war.

Perhaps a better picture of the terrible waste of militarism is shown by the cost of thirty years armed peace to the five great militarist powers of Europe compiled by the World Peace Foundation.

Thirty years cost of armed peace, 1881-1911 in millions of dollars was:

COUNTRIES	Armies and navies	Increase of interest charges due to debt	Total
Austria-Hungary .....	2,094.5	1,548.6	3,643.1
France .....	6,035.6	2,272.5	8,308.1
Germany .....	5,606.9	474.7	6,081.6
Italy .....	2,445.5	571.4	3,016.9
Russia .....	5,658.4	1,732.7	7,391.1
Totals .....	21,840.9	6,599.9	28,440.8

In 1910 nine military nations, including the United States, devoted on the average 28.9 per cent of their entire receipts to military purposes, the average per capita expenditure being 3.47 dollars or about 18 dollars per family of five. The average cost per man in the United States Army is the largest. The support of one fighting man costs this country 1,314 dollars per annum, while to Great Britain it costs only 378 dollars, to Germany 306, to France 291, to Spain 282, to Austria-Hungary 278, to Italy 273, to Russia 232 and to Japan 209 dollars.

A United States soldier, then, who produces absolutely nothing, consumes more produce than the combined average annual wages of two American laborers; the soldier costs 1,314 dollars while the average worker gets no more than 600 dollars per year.

### Militarism and National Wealth.

The National debts are being increased, due to militarism. The actual and per capita national debt in 1914 prior to the present war in the six militarist countries of Europe was as follows:

	Actual debts in 1914.	Per capita debt.
France .....	\$4,932,900,000	\$124
Austria .....	3,790,800,000	75
Germany .....	4,860,000,000	72
Gt. Britain .....	3,192,448,463	68
Italy .....	2,536,920,000	61
Russia .....	4,592,700,000	36
	\$23,905,768,463	\$65

Huge as these debts are they have been put to shame by the war debts contracted during the first fifteen months of this war. The indebtedness jumped from 23 billion to 51 billion dollars within that short period.

The following table compiled by conservative economists indicates fairly well how the so-called "national wealth" is passing rapidly into the possession of bankers and munition makers through war loans:

COUNTRY	Aggregate indebtedness December, 1915	Per capita debt	Estimated national wealth in 1914	Per capita wealth in 1914
Gt. Britain .....	\$11,269,768,463	\$242	\$88,060,000,000	\$1,901
Germany .....	12,135,000,000	177	83,250,000,000	1,217
Russia .....	8,162,700,000	57	60,160,000,000	422
France .....	8,776,815,000	220	59,000,000,000	1,491
Austria-Hungary	8,113,792,000	159	55,580,000,000	1,089
Italy .....	3,115,920,000	87	20,000,000,000	561
Totals .....	\$51,563,995,463	\$134	\$378,050,000,000	\$1,118

Roughly speaking, after the first fifteen months of warfare **one-seventh of the combined national wealth of the six belligerent countries had passed into the possession of international bankers and patriotic munition makers.** If we recall that in almost every capitalist country one-tenth of the people control over fifty per cent of the national wealth, we shall be forced to admit that the fighting millions already **have nothing to fight for.** They possessed but little before the war and they are losing everything during the war, including their labor power, their health, their very lives.

A very conservative estimate of the New York Times Annalist holds that in 1917 the interest alone on the national debts of France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and Great Britain will be \$2,865,000,000 as against \$746,180,000 in the last year of peace, that is to say it will be four times as large.

### Increasing Cost of Living.

Cost of food and clothing is rising even during normal times of capitalist exploitation. During war time prices soar.

In England whose powerful merchant marine has not been crippled by the war at all, the price levels for cereals and meats was 165 in December, 1915, as compared with 119 at the end of January, 1914, if the 1901-1905 average be taken as 100.

In Russia, despite the complete stoppage of her food exports during the war, prices for food have risen from 100 to 200 per cent, prices for fuel have trebled and quadrupled.

In Germany there is such a scarcity of food, that meatless, fatless, milkless days and other enforced fasts have become so "popular," that the government has recently ordained a two month abstinence from all meat.

### Interruption of the Class Struggle.

War has crippled both the economic and political action of the working class in its struggle against the employers. Freedom of press, freedom of assemblage, freedom of organization have been replaced by military dictatorship which is the dictatorship of the capitalist class over the working class. Every strike is declared a conspiracy, every act of protest against national exploiters is acclaimed high treason. Every step of the workers against their own oppressors at home is interpreted as the abetting of the enemy. And yet the working class of the enemy nation is in the same plight. In a word, the working class is forced by its rulers in every country to carry on self-extinction, while their oppressors are watching with delight the bleeding of their natural enemies—the workers.

War makes industrial life an endless chain of martyrdom and servitude. Compulsory military service is followed by compulsory industrial slavery. Military conscription by the government is aggravated by industrial conscription.

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## LABOR AND THE DEMOCRATS.

BY WM. LEAVITT STODDARD.

Probably the most favorable statement of the Democratic Party's record so far as labor is concerned is the platform adopted by the convention at St. Louis which re-nominated Woodrow Wilson. This platform has a good deal to say about labor, and I happen to know that the labor planks were written by a radical United States Senator who, I feel sure, believes that the Democratic Party has taken and will take important socialistic steps. The labor planks in the St. Louis platform were carefully calculated to attract Progressives and unattached revolutionaries to the support of the gentleman who now occupies the White House and who is, therefore, in an admirable position to advance the cause of the working people.

In the section of the platform entitled "Record of Achievement," the boast is made that the Democratic Party has "lifted human labor from the category of commodities," that it has secured to the workingman "the right to voluntary association for his protection and welfare," that the rights of the laborer have been protected against the unwarranted

issuance of writs of injunction, and that the toiler has been guaranteed the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside the court.

So much for performance. As to promise, the platform declares that the Federal Government should set the example to employers by providing a living wage, an eight-hour working day, with one day of rest in seven, safe and sanitary conditions of labor, compensation for accidents, retirement schemes, uniform standards wherever minors are employed, and provisions relative to the employment of women such "as should be accorded the mothers of the race." The platform declares faith in the Seamen's Act, commonly known as the La Follette Bill, and promises continuance of its enforcement. The platform favors the "speedy enactment" of an effective Federal child labor law, as well as the regulation of the shipment of convict-made goods. It recommends the creation of a Bureau of Labor Safety, as well as legislation "to prevent the maiming and killing of human beings." It favors the extension of the field of usefulness of the Bureau of Mines, endorses the system of employment exchanges inaugurated during the Administration, and commends the Department of Labor for its record in settling strikes by personal advice and conciliating agents. Under the head of Public Health the platform favors the establishment by the government of tuberculosis sanitariums for needy patients. Another paragraph proposes a scheme of prison reform for the Federal prisoners.

These promises and alleged performances are worth examining in the light of the facts of the attitude of the Democratic Party toward labor, judging that attitude by the history of the last three years of Democratic control of the Federal government.

### **A Self-Convicted Party.**

There is no disputing the "Record of Achievement" as stated in the Democratic Platform. It is true that Congress passed and Wilson signed a law in which it was declared that labor was not a commodity, and it is also true that the same Congress, in a legislative provision still to be tested in the courts, allowed labor unions to exist. No one, furthermore, will dispute that other provisions enacted during the present Administration improved the situation with regard to injunctions and contempt of court. It is also true that labor, through the American Federation of Labor, had long demanded these reforms. But if this "Record of Achievement" which is set forth so painstakingly, is the best that can be said for the Democratic Party's friendship for labor, then that party stands self-convicted out of its own mouth.



The mere declaration by a law that labor is not a commodity has in no way made labor less of a commodity, nor made it easier for the toilers of this country to bargain better for the sale of their labor power with employers. At best this declaration is a sentimental victory for labor. It raises interesting questions which might furnish a subject for pleasant conversations in the library of the White House on cozy winter evenings, the warmth furnished by the White House furnaces which are stoked by a fireman receiving starvation wages, contrasting strikingly with the cold soup kitchens for the unemployed three or four blocks away on Pennsylvania Avenue. I seriously doubt if the average workingman would care to risk a vote on Wilson because of this achievement.

Concerning the success of the labor unions in having secured legislation from the Democrats which give them the right to live, much might be said. Without going into the details of the provision in question, it may be enough to say that the President himself has declared that the clause which on its face exempts labor from prosecution under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, does not really exempt. I do not know if Mr. Wilson has stated this opinion publicly, but I heard him state it to a group of newspapermen, and I believe that there is a stenographic report of what was uttered on that occasion. It is my belief that the next time the Government desires to prosecute a labor union under the Sherman law it will do so and that it will have faith enough in the conservatism of the courts so that it will forget this proud achievement and brush it aside or leave it to be declared unconstitutional by some judge.

### **Nothing to Boast About.**

As to the anti-injunction and contempt of court legislation, there is nothing here worth boasting about. For years and years labor has been endeavoring to secure a repeal by law of a set of judicial decisions which have grown up in absolute defiance of what were always understood to be common rights of free men guaranteed in Anglo-Saxon countries since Magna Charta.

A word or two about some of the other items of performance mentioned in the course of the platform. The La Follette law has been in many important respects nullified by the administration which it has received at the hands of Mr. Wilson's Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Redfield. In precisely what way, and to what extent this nullification has taken place, Mr. Andrew Furuseth has more than once in recent weeks explained. At any rate, it was poor tactics for the St. Louis convention to promise to continue to enforce

the La Follette law, for labor perfectly well knows that enforcement to date has been bad, and capital knows that thorough enforcement in the future would be dangerous to its interests.

The list of promises, including the child labor bill, workmen's compensation, health legislation, and legislation to make the Federal Government a model employer, contains some old familiar faces. Most of the specific measures thus enumerated by the enthusiastic politicians who want to lure Mr. Roosevelt's apostles of social and industrial justice into Mr. Wilson's range, were quite as ready to be enacted into law on March 5, 1913, when Mr. Wilson had his first whack at them, as they are today. It is true that in the course of the last three years some of these bills have been reported from one committee or another and voted on now in this house, now in that; but the bi-cameral system of government is ingeniously arranged so that it is easy for the party in power to escape responsibility for final failure of anything which it does not care very much about. I think we can dismiss the promises of the St. Louis platform without any further consideration, for as the President himself has said, a platform is not a program, and as someone else has said, with equal truth, it is like molasses, good to catch flies with.

As reading matter, the Democratic platform and any account, Democratic or Republican, of the Democratic labor record is preferable to even a Bull Moose account of the labor record of Mr. Hughes. But viewed in any other light than as reading matter, I believe that the Democratic record so far as labor is concerned is fully as worthless and fully as treacherous as could be expected under the circumstances.

## GRADUATED INCOME AND INHERITANCE TAXATION.

BY WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

### I. The Present Tax System of the United States.

The total sum raised in the nation, states, cities and counties in 1913 was approximately \$2,800,000,000—perhaps 8 per cent. of the nation's income in that year. Of this amount direct graduated taxes took less than one-fortieth, while land taxes at a liberal estimate took less than one-fourth. Thus three-fourths of the taxes of the United States were either indirect or mixed in character, while nearly 30 per cent. are clearly indirect. That is, 30 per cent. of our taxes were paid *chiefly* by persons with small incomes, while another 45 per cent. were paid *largely* by the same class.

Our taxation system costs the *average* family ■ total of

\$190.00, or nearly one-eighth of its income. But the burden falls so unequally that it may easily take twice that proportion of the smallest incomes; that is, one-fourth, and half that proportion of the largest incomes; that is, one-sixteenth.

The advantages of the graduated income tax are no longer a matter of dispute. Nearly every one of the leading nations has been forced to adopt it. An income tax if not graduated produces comparatively little, for no country has been willing to levy a high tax against smaller incomes. Great Britain introduced a heavy graduation in 1910. Germany, which had long employed a steep graduation in her cities and states, introduced it in her national taxes of 1913. Even France, the country *par excellence* of small and large investors, was about to put the principle into effect *before* the war and, of course, has greatly increased the rate of graduation afterwards.

The actual American tax is far lower than were the actual taxes paid in Great Britain, Germany and other countries *before the war*. In Great Britain the actual rate in the budget of 1910 rose from five and one-half per cent. for an income of \$20,000 to eight per cent. for an income of \$500,000, and these rates were raised by the budget of May, 1914, to seven and thirteen per cent. respectively.

In the Revenue Bill reported to the House of Representatives July 1, 1916, the following Income Tax Rates are provided: the exemptions of the income tax law remain as at present—\$3,000 for unmarried persons and \$4,000 where the person taxed is the head of a family.

From \$3,000 (\$4,000) .....\$20,000...2%

### Surtaxes.

(a)

From	\$20,000 to	\$40,000.....	1%
"	40,000 to	60,000.....	2%
"	60,000 to	80,000.....	3%
"	80,000 to	100,000.....	4%
"	100,000 to	150,000.....	5%
"	150,000 to	200,000.....	6%
"	200,000 to	250,000.....	7%
"	250,000 to	300,000.....	8%
"	300,000 to	500,000.....	9%
"	500,000 to	2,000,000.....	10%
Over	2,000,000.....		13%

"The new rates (like the old) refer to exemptions, and the real rates are much lower. For example the real rates are.

(b)	
.4% on	\$5,000
1.2% on	10,000
1.4% on	15,000
1.6% on	20,000
1.9% on	25,000
2.3% on	40,000
2.6% on	50,000
3.1% on	60,000
3.8% on	80,000
4.4% on	100,000
5.6% on	150,000
6.5% on	200,000
7.6% on	250,000
9.3% on	500,000
10.6% on	1,000,000
11.3% on	2,000,000
13.2% on	4,000,000

"As more than 95% of the total income of all the wealthy and well-to-do classes reached by this tax is held by persons who receive incomes smaller than \$500,000 a year the rates beyond that point are socially unimportant.

"We see then that the new rates very rarely go beyond 10% and that on the majority of the income taxed (that of persons receiving between \$4,000 and \$20,000) they yield an average of about **one per cent.**"

It is estimated that the new rates will raise about \$250,000,000.

## II. The Graduated Income Tax in Germany.

The German income tax rates were raised to a higher point even before the war. Before 1913 this tax was applied principally for state and city purposes, rising to four and five per cent. in the states, and still higher in the cities. In the larger cities the income tax which was *added* to the state tax, was usually equal to the latter but was often twice as great. In the smaller places the town income tax was sometimes four or five times as heavy as the state tax. The income tax rate in Hamburg rose rapidly to six and three-quarter per cent. on an income of \$5,000, and reached nine per cent. on an income of \$50,000. The income tax rate in Bremen rose from seven and one-half per cent. on \$5,000 to eight and one-half on \$25,000.

But the most radical feature of the German income tax system before the war has not yet been mentioned, the

imposition of this form of tax by the nation (or Empire) in 1913. At this time two new forms of graduated tax were introduced: (1) an income tax similar to that of the United States, but rising from one per cent. on \$2,500 to eight per cent. on \$125,000; (2) a heavy tax on all increments of property to be levied every three years.

If we add all these graduated taxes together we find that even before the war the larger German incomes (over \$250,000) were forced to pay to nation, state, and city a total income tax that varied from  $18\frac{1}{2}$  to  $32\frac{1}{2}$  per cent (not to mention their contribution to indirect taxes, land taxes and mixed taxes).

The Imperial Investigation of State and Communal Taxes in 1909 showed that, in the overwhelming majority of localities, the total of the direct taxes was from 8 to 15 per cent on incomes over \$25,000 a year, and 7 to 12 per cent on incomes over \$5,000. Adding the imperial property tax of 1913—an average of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and the imperial income tax—10 and 5 per cent on \$25,000 and \$5,000 respectively, the 1913 direct taxes on incomes of \$25,000 a year ranged from  $16\frac{1}{2}$  to  $23\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and those on incomes of \$5,000 from  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent (not to mention indirect and mixed taxes).

### III. British Income Tax Rates Applied to the United States.

If applied to the United States unmodified the British rates of 1914 (before the war) would produce \$1,500,000,000, while the rates of 1915 (the war rates) would produce \$2,700,000,000. But these British rates are quite high for the lower incomes. If considerably moderated for these incomes (as suggested in a pamphlet of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society) the British rates would still produce about \$1,000,000,000 and \$1,800,000,000 respectively.

I have made no use of the more radical rates proposed by leading British public men, although some of these may be adopted if the war lasts long enough and, in part, retained afterward. For example, Philip Snowden, M.P., proposes to take 75 per cent. of all incomes over \$125,000, Sidney Webb proposes to take 75 per cent. of incomes over \$50,000, while J. R. MacDonald, M.P., for many years Chairman of the Labour Party, wants to take all income over \$25,000 a year.

The rate proposed by *The New Statesman* is not so radical, rising only to 50 per cent., and this not before an income of \$500,000 is reached. It is, however, undoubtedly higher on the lower incomes (from \$3,000 to \$10,000 a year) than would be advocated in peace times by any large body of American opinion. Moderating it for these incomes (but still leaving a comparatively high tax—ranging from 1 to



15 per cent), the *New Statesman* plan would have raised \$2,700,000,000 in the United States according to the tax returns of 1915.

#### IV. The Graduated Inheritance Tax.

The graduated inheritance tax is even more widely and firmly established than the graduated income tax. And before the war its rates were often even higher. It became widely adopted by a number of our states about two decades ago and has rapidly risen in its total yield for all the states. This total was only \$26,500,000 in 1913, but ten years before it was scarcely one-fourth as much.

The only questions concerning it are:

(1) Are the present rates high enough?

(2) Should this tax not be nationalized or federalized, a certain proportion of it being returned to the states?

Only one state in the union (California) approximates the British rates of 1909, and no state approaches the British rates of May, 1914. Yet as early as December, 1906, President Roosevelt urged in his message to Congress a federal inheritance tax, to be "very heavily graduated above a certain point." Later he said in a speech that the whole surplus of any legacy beyond a million dollars ought to go to the government. A heavily graduated inheritance tax was proposed in the Senate in 1913 by Senator Jones of Washington and again in 1915 by Senator Norris of Nebraska.

In his message of December, 1915, President Wilson recommended both a federal inheritance tax and an increase of the income tax.

Senator Norris proposed a tax of 20 per cent. on fortunes of \$1,000,000 and 75 per cent. on \$50,000,000, Senator Jones a tax of 15 and 50 per cent. on the same fortunes.

The United States Industrial Commission Minority Report recommended that a tax be levied on legacies rising to 100 per cent. on all estates over a million dollars. The Report of Prof. John R. Commons recommended a tax rising to a maximum of 15 per cent., and estimated that this would raise \$250,000,000 annually. Of this sum it proposed that \$50,000,000 be returned to the states and divided according to population (50 cents per capita). The highest state inheritance tax at present, that of New York, gives \$1.28 per capita, but the next highest gives only 68 cents, and the large majority of states get far less than 50 cents, so that this would probably prove acceptable.

In the *Atlantic Monthly* of January, 1915, Alvin Johnson recommends a rate averaging five per cent. on legacies below \$50,000 and averaging 15 per cent. on legacies above that amount. Judging from English results this would yield

\$100,000,000 and \$300,000,000 (i. e., a total of \$400,000,000) in this country. This would require a tax on estates (not legacies) rising to a maximum of 50 per cent. at a million dollars, which is approximately what has been demanded by Philip Snowden, M. P., and by *The New Statesman*.

### Estimated Yield.

The probable yield from these rates may be fairly closely approximated by assuming that the larger *fortunes* are distributed in the same way as the larger *incomes*. On this assumption the relative amounts raised in America from estates over \$100,000 would be divided approximately as follows:

\$100,000 to \$200,000.....	31 per cent.
\$200,000 to \$400,000.....	21 per cent.
\$400,000 to \$2,000,000.....	22 per cent.
\$2,000,000 to \$20,000,000.....	20 per cent.
Over \$20,000,000.....	6 per cent.

Thus, on estates over \$100,000 the California schedule would yield at a rate of seven per cent., that of Senator Jones nine per cent., the British pre-war schedule (adding five per cent. for the legacy tax) 15 per cent., and the schedule of *The New Statesman* 45 per cent.

*The New Statesman* estimates that its method would raise between \$300,000,000 and \$350,000,000 in Great Britain, which would probably mean between \$500,000,000 and \$600,000,000 in the United States.

Possibly this sum could be raised more easily if, instead of reaching a maximum of 75 per cent. and taxing fortunes of \$1,000,000 at the rate of 34 per cent., the maximum were reduced to 50 per cent., and if this maximum were reached by fortunes of \$1,000,000. Such a schedule would also be more likely to raise the outside estimate of \$600,000,000 a year. It might begin to vary from *The New Statesman* schedule at \$100,000, when 20 per cent. could be taken instead of 18. The scale could then advance five per cent. for each additional \$100,000 up to \$500,000, when it would be 40 per cent. At \$750,000 the rate could then be 45 per cent., and at \$1,000,000 it would reach the maximum of 50 per cent.

Even before the war (May, 1914) Chancellor Lloyd George had introduced a rate in Great Britain of 12 per cent. on legacies of a million and 20 per cent. on five million dollars—and these rates are in the process of being greatly increased. Although the new rates will be war rates, it may be gravely doubted if it will ever be possible greatly to lower them again.

The Revenue Bill reported to the House, July 1, 1916, provides Inheritance Tax rates, which will produce about \$75,000,000, as follows:

1% of amount of net estate not exceeding.....	\$50,000
2% of amount by which net estate exceeds \$50,000 and does not exceed.....	150,000
3% of amount by which net estate exceeds \$150,000 and does not exceed.....	250,000
4% of amount by which net estate exceeds \$250,000 and does not exceed.....	450,000
5% of amount by which net estate exceeds \$450,000 and does not exceed.....	1,000,000
6% of amount by which estate exceeds \$1,000,000 and does not exceed.....	2,000,000
7% of amount by which estate exceeds \$2,000,000 and does not exceed.....	3,000,000
8% of amount by which estate exceeds \$3,000,000 and does not exceed.....	4,000,000
9% of amount by which estate exceeds \$4,000,000 and does not exceed.....	5,000,000
10% of amount by which estate exceeds.....	5,000,000

It should be noted that these rates are not so low as they appear since they are levied on the whole estate and not merely on the legacies into which it is divided (as was the case with previous American inheritance taxes). Also they are in addition to state inheritance taxes; but these, as we have shown, are very low.

From the democratic standpoint, after we have allowed for the considerations just mentioned, the new taxes are extraordinarily low. They bring the total of inheritance taxes paid to state and nation together to a figure far below that introduced in Great Britain before the war (see above). The war figures of all the European countries are several times higher, and these must be retained for many years after the war so that there is little doubt that they will be made permanent. Therefore, it would be no relative burden on our industry if American capital were equally taxed, nor would American capitalists so taxed find it profitable to leave this country and reside in Europe. Thus the only scientific arguments against high graduated taxation that were generally accepted before the war are disposed of.

## PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

By FREDERIC C. HOWE.

The demand for public ownership of street railroads, and other public service corporations by our cities, and the railroads and other public corporations by the nation at large, is not primarily a matter of rates and charges or even the conditions of employment, important as these considerations are. The very life of democracy is involved in the question. Anyone familiar with city, state or national politics knows that the one dominant issue is between these powerful privileged corporations, seeking at all times to control the Government, and struggling, inarticulate democracy. The experience of Cleveland, Detroit, Toledo, San Francisco, Denver, every city in fact that has made an attempt to regulate the public service corporations has brought to light not only their colossal power but their corrupting influence as well. The control of corruption in almost every city and state may be traced back to these great interests that control political parties; contribute to campaign funds; own or influence the press; and reach out even to the courts as well. They make and mould public opinion in their own interests, and make war on anyone who challenges their supremacy.

Our politics are split asunder by these powerful influences which ramify in many directions, just as they were split asunder by the issue of slavery and freedom. The talent of the country is divorced from honest politics. For profit lies with these big interests. Men may not run for public offices, their opinions upon public questions are under suspicion, the public service is bereft of a large part of the talent of the country because of the inevitable conflict between these interests and the public weal. Every city suffers from this cleavage of interest just as does the nation.

Our own experience is the experience of all countries that have tried private ownership of these great public utilities. And every country that has abandoned private for public ownership has witnessed a great renaissance in public interests. The English cities were in a condition not dissimilar from our own under private ownership, and the awakening and great forward movement in England coincided with the taking over of street railroads, gas and electric lighting enterprises. The same warfare existed in German cities. It exists in Berlin today. And one explanation of the love of the Germans for the Fatherland is traceable to the large number of activities which the state and the cities own in common and operate in the public interest.

Finally I believe it is necessary for the state to do many things for its people and to own many things to create a sense of identification of the people with the state. Civic

patriotism is a reciprocal thing. It is hard for it to exist under the extreme individualism that prevails in America. Judging by the patriotism of other lands, real patriotism and real service to the state are in direct proportion to the services which the state renders the citizen. This is the psychology of politics. The state that serves its people secures service in return.

## THE TREND TOWARD PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

By Harry W. Laidler.

While economists of the old school have been sagely wagging their heads and declaring that public ownership of all but a comparatively small number of industries was a chimerical dream, the governments of the world have been quietly assuming a larger and larger control of the industrial affairs of their respective countries. They have engaged to an even greater extent in the huge business of communication. They have taken the postal service out of the hands of private enterprise in every important country. They have secured possession of 18% of the cable mileage of the world and have nationalized the telegraphs and telephones in an ever increasing number of cases. Governments have gone extensively into the railway business in 50 out of the 70 countries, large and small, on this planet. They have steadily invaded the industries which affect the public health—the cleaning of streets, the construction of sewers, the building and maintenance of hospitals and public baths, and, according to the Fabian Research Bureau, have brought into governmental pay, in one or another form, over half of the medical practitioners in England.

The improvement of the land is another field which has yielded to the collective endeavor, while in the domain of education “nearly the whole industry has, within a century, passed from being, for the most part, a profit-making venture of individualist capitalist school-masters, into a service almost entirely conducted not for profit but for use.” Governmental banking has so increased in connection with the post office department that we are told that the Postmaster General of each of the great nations is “by far the most extensive banker in the community.” Many of the governments, including those in New Zealand, Australia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, own, in whole or in part, the most extensive banks in their respective countries. Lighting and heating, agriculture, forestry, housing and mining, and many subsidiary industries are, to an ever greater extent, passing under public control. We find that the Irish government, with its 30,000 rent paying tenants, for instance, is the largest



farmer in Great Britain, and that the Republic of France is the largest store-keeper in the world. The Fabian Research Report states:

"We have on a larger and larger scale, government mines and quarries and brick works; government tanneries and saw mills and leather and wood works; government flour mills and bakeries and slaughter houses and distilleries and breweries; government clothing factories and saddleries and boot-making establishments, government furniture factories and scientific instrument workshops and the manufacture, in one place or another, of every conceivable commodity, directly under the control and for the use of the consumer himself."

### Effect of the War.

In fact there seems to be a great tidal wave throughout the world toward a greater and greater degree of collective effort. The present war has given a wonderful impetus to this collectivism, and is rapidly breaking down the anarchy and wastefulness of the old individualism.

These governmental experiments have shown that collectivity is capable of conducting its own affairs; that it is possible to get thousands of the best brains of the community to work not with the expectation of huge fortunes, "but for love of duty, on the basis of an assured maintenance," and that it is practicable to rely "for the zeal and efficiency of service, not on the worker's fear of starvation, but partly on the power of organization and supervision and the stimulus of habit; partly on the most universal desire for successful performance of one's own function and on a training in public duty."

The government service has shown an ever greater efficiency. It has afforded better conditions to the average clerical worker, and has rescued the community in many lines of endeavor from the exploits of the private monopolist.

However, public ownership will never fulfill its possibilities so long as the government remains in the hands of a bureaucratic or capitalistic class. Under such control the capitalistic spirit is likely to pervade the governmental industries, and the primary aim of those in control is likely to be the increasing of military efficiency, the strengthening of a governmental machine, or the securing of a profit from the governmental industry in order that taxation on the well-to-do may be reduced. It should, on the other hand, be the chief concern of the community to use any surplus from governmental industry for the improvement of the condition of the workers, the improvement of the service, and the lowering of the price of the commodity to the community. Some method should also be devised which would afford adequate representation to the workers in the industry and to the

community-at-large in the management of the governmental concern. Furthermore, the only way in which it is possible to guarantee that the community retain the benefits derived from public ownership is to have such ownership include all of the principal industries of the nation. For gains from public industries might otherwise be absorbed by private monopolists, through increase of price. There must furthermore be a gradual change in the political machinery, in order that governments may properly adjust themselves to their rapidly changing industrial functions.

Many considerations have led to the increase of public ownership; the desire for increased revenue, for greater health and safety, the need of cheap commodities, etc. And many parties and groups representing the middle and upper classes in the community have advocated the public ownership of specific industries. The most comprehensive program for public ownership and democratic management, however, is that advocated by the Socialist parties of the world. They advocate public ownership not as an end but as a means to an end—the elimination of exploitation, the emancipation of the class of intellectual and manual producers from economic oppression, the securing of equality of opportunity, the building up of a genuine democracy.

Labor generally is also more and more rallying to public ownership. On the continent of Europe the trade unionists are Socialists almost to a man, and are consequently committed to a program of federal and municipal ownership and democratic management of the principal industries. In Great Britain the British Labor Party, which is composed of the trade unionists and Socialists of Great Britain, recommended in its 1913 conference, the nationalization of the coal mines, the minerals, the railways, the land, the canals and the waterways of the nation.

### Unions' Advocacy.

The American Federation of Labor has advocated in its declarations of principles the municipal ownership of public utilities and the nationalization of the telephones and the telegraph. At the last convention, the delegates again urged the federal ownership of the last named utility. Collective ownership and operation have been officially endorsed, at various times during their career, by many of the international unions, including the machinists, patternmakers, metal workers, boiler-makers and iron shipbuilders, engineers, brewery workers, bakers and confectionery workers, textile workers, ladies' garment workers, boot and shoe workers, cloth, hat and cap makers, woodworkers, flint glass workers, amalgamated glass workers, carriage and wagon workers, and a number of the western unions, including the miners, totaling its mem-

bership over 330,000. The endorsement of a thoroughgoing public ownership program by the United Mine Workers in their convention of a few years ago was perhaps the most noteworthy of the recent actions along this line by a great American union.

It is undoubtedly true that the movement for public ownership is gaining a remarkable momentum in all civilized countries of the world. This agitation for community ownership bids fair to continue until the people become the complete masters of their own economic life.

### FACTS OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

By CARL D. THOMPSON.

It is of course impossible to compile anything like a complete and exact estimate of all the innumerable forms of public ownership throughout the world. The following is in many instances a mere estimate. Where available the figures have been taken from official reports, and where estimates have been made they are conservative and based on careful research.

#### Public Ownership Throughout the World.

The Fabian Research Department estimates that there are a total of 11,000,000 people employed in the various public enterprises of the world; that no less than \$2,250,000,000 are paid annually in wages in these enterprises, and that there is a total of \$50,000,000,000 of capital invested. This estimate, however, does not include the military or police force, the fire protection, courts, poor relief, regulation, inspection and audit, or the matter of taxation. If these were included, and they are certainly cases of public ownership and operation, the figures would be very much larger. Figures are not at hand for the entire police and fire departments of the world. But including the fire departments of the ten largest cities and the police departments of 51 of the larger American cities, and of all of Great Britain, of Paris, Vienna and Berlin, and the entire army and navy equipment of the world (on a peace basis only) the figures for the whole would be not less than the following:

The total number of public employees of all kinds—18,858,600; annual wages paid—\$2,265,000,000; total capital invested—\$60,000,000,000.

**Postal Systems.** The postal systems of the world operate 282,782 offices; employ 1,300,000 persons and pay annually in wages \$325,000,000.

**Highways.** On the building and maintenance of roads, bridges and highways there are employed no less than 1,000,-

000 people; and the annual expenditure is at least \$1,000,000,000.

**Canals and Waterways.** Annual expenditures are not less than \$1,500,000,000.

**Railways.** Considerably more than one-half of the entire railway mileage of the world is now publicly owned. These public railways employ not less than 1,000,000 persons and pay \$250,000,000 in wages annually.

**Water Supplies.** Employ over 100,000 and have \$5,000,000,000 capital invested.

**Public Health,** including hospitals, sanitary systems, drainage, street cleaning, sewerage and the like employ 1,500,000 people and pay \$340,000,000 in wages annually.

**Land Improvement,** irrigation, etc., employs 500,000 at an annual expenditure of \$625,500,000.

**Education and Recreation** employs 3,500,000 people; and in the United States alone the capital invested is \$1,500,000,000.

**Libraries** employ several hundred thousand people.

**Printing** for the public involves an annual expenditure of \$75,000,000.

**Banking and Insurance** is quite extensively carried on by many of the state and national governments.

**Light, Heat and Power Plants** employ 250,000 people and have a capital investment of \$3,500,000,000.

**Armies and Navies** of the world, on a peace basis, employ 7,746,000 persons at an annual expenditure of \$2,324,067,000.

**Police Force** in 51 of the largest American cities, in all of Great Britain and in Paris, Berlin and Vienna employ 103,157 people at an annual expenditure of \$73,059,800.

**Fire Departments** in ten of the largest cities of the world employ 9,447 people at an expenditure of \$15,158,800.

**Street Car Lines** now very largely publicly owned and operated, at least in Europe, employ no less than 1,000,000 persons and pay \$250,000,000 in wages annually.

IN ADDITION to the above there are numerous other forms of public ownership maintained by the various states and nations. Mines are very extensively owned and operated. The Prussian government works 345 groups of coal mines; New Zealand produces one eighth of the entire coal supply from its public mines. Some of the Scandinavian states own silver mines; Dutch East India owns tin mines; South Africa gold mines; German South-West Africa owns diamond mines; Australia coal mines; Prussia owns iron potash, salt, chalk and amber mines and oil fields are owned and operated by Austria-Hungary, Servia and the Argentine Republic. In one or another of the countries there is public ownership of other utilities less common. such as factories, brick works, quarries, grain elevators, ware houses, cold storage plants and general stores.

### **Municipal Ownership.**

The following list of municipally owned utilities does not cover all the field completely. There are not sufficient data available to give anything like a complete statement.

**England.** 171 cities own and operate their own street car lines; 1,045 cities own and operate water systems; 300 own and operate gas plants; 334 own and operate electric light and power plants.

**Germany.** 132 cities own and operate street car lines; 1,333 cities own and operate water systems; 758 cities own and operate gas plants; 434 cities own and operate electric light and power plants; 783 cities own and operate slaughter houses.

**United States.** 3,045 cities own and operate water systems; 1,562 electric light and power plants; 30 gas plants; 3 street railways.

IN ADDITION to the above there are many other forms of municipal ownership, of course. Many of the modern cities own and control large tracts of land. Berlin owns 39,000 acres which is about 9 per cent of the total area of the city; Munich owns 13,000 acres which is 23 per cent of the total area of the city. Many other cities are large owners of land. Zurich, Switzerland, owns and rents dwelling houses. So also do such cities as Paris, Buenos Ayres, and Sydney. A great many cities own bakeries; many own restaurants, hotels, drug stores, boarding houses, theatres, libraries, picture galleries. In fact there is scarcely a public utility of any kind that has not in some city or other been taken over and owned and operated publicly.

We have not included in the above any reference to the less common forms of municipal ownership of which there are many cases. Boston owns and operates successfully a printing plant, Brookings, S. D., owns a telephone system. Cincinnati owns a steam railway over 300 miles in length. Many cities own public baths, docks, piers, ferries, subways; nearly all cities own parks, schools and libraries. A few own ice plants.

### **Public Ownership in the United States.**

The following is only a partial list of the various forms of public ownership in the United States:

**Public Schools.** The public school system of the United States employs 590,000 people, involves an annual expenditure of \$550,000,000 and a capital investment of \$1,500,000,000.



**Postal Department** including the postal savings banks and the parcel post employs 241,820 people.

**Forests.** There are 162 forest tracts owned by the government with a total of 184,611,000 acres.

**Land.** The government still owns 657,000,000 acres of land.

**Panama Canal.** The canal involves a capital investment of \$400,000,000 and employed 24,424 people during 1915. The construction of this immense project involved the public ownership and operation of railways, ships, hotels, restaurants, hospitals, cement plants and numerous other utilities.

**Reclamation.** There are 29 reclamation projects carried on by the government involving a capital investment of \$129,951,997.

**Roads and Highways.** The capital investment in the public roads and highways is estimated at \$249,055,067.

**Libraries.** There are 1,844 public libraries with an annual expenditure of \$14,756,567 and a capital investment of \$109,717,908.

**Light and Power Plants.** There are 1,562 cities that own and operate their light and power plants, employing 7,940 people.

**Water Works.** There are 3,054 cities that own and operate water plants. Some of these are enormous. New York City's system, for example, is valued at more than \$180,000,000. That of Boston at over \$42,000,000. Chicago at \$52,000,000.

### Bibliography.

The facts given here are based upon the studies made by the Fabian Research Department of England published as a special supplement of *The New Statesman* of May 8, 1915; "The Collectivist State in the Making" by Emil Davies, published by G. Bell and Sons, London; Frederic C. Howe's books, especially "The Modern City," "European Cities at Work" and "The City the Hope of Democracy" and Charles Zueblin's work on "American Municipal Progress."

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The agitation for Woman Suffrage, starting in this country long before the Civil War, has reached large proportions and the leaders of the movement believe that complete victory is in sight. In Europe, too, interest in Woman Suffrage is growing. Many countries have granted partial or full suffrage.

Careful examination of the statement of the spread of woman suffrage appended below, indicates that the more progressive sections of Europe, Scandinavia, etc., the more progressive sections of this country, the Western States, and outlying sections, like the British Dependencies, lead in this extension of Democracy.

### Where Women Vote.

(The steps by which women attained political rights are here given.)

**Norway:** Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women 1901; full franchise granted tax-paying women 1907; municipal franchise extended to all women 1910; full parliamentary franchise extended to all women 1913; approximate number of women having full franchise 380,000. In 1910, 44 women were elected to municipal councils, 178 elected alternates. In 1909 one woman, an alternate, sat in Parliament.

**Finland:** Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women in county districts 1863; municipal franchise granted tax-paying women in city districts 1872; full franchise granted all women 1906. There are 21 women in the present Diet, elected 1913; 707,000 women have franchise.

**Sweden:** Municipal franchise granted tax-paying widows and spinsters 1862; municipal franchise granted all women 1909; 1,400,000 women affected; more than 60 women are town councillors.

**Iceland:** Municipal suffrage granted tax-paying widows and spinsters 1882; municipal suffrage extended to all women 1909; full suffrage extended to all women 1915; 11,000 women affected; 3 women are town councillors.

**Denmark:** Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women, and wives of men who pay taxes 1908; full suffrage extended to all women 1915; 13 women elected in Copenhagen in 1913, 1 made Vice President of the Council.

**New Zealand:** Municipal suffrage granted all women 1886; full suffrage granted all women 1893; 300,000 women affected.

**Australia:** State suffrage granted in South Australia 1895; West Australia 1900; in New South Wales 1902; in Tasmania 1903; in Queensland 1905; in Victoria 1908; full

suffrage granted throughout Federated Australia 1902; 1,100,000 women affected, women eligible to office.

**British South Africa:** Municipal suffrage granted to women in all four provinces—Cape Colony, Natal, Orange River Colony, and Transvaal 1914; women made eligible to local government bodies in Natal 1914.

**England & Wales:** Municipal suffrage granted to unmarried women and widows who were householders 1869; women made eligible to city and county councils 1907.

**Scotland:** Municipal suffrage granted women on same terms as men 1881; women made eligible to city and county councils in 1901.

**Ireland:** Municipal suffrage granted women on same terms as men 1898; women made eligible to city and county councils 1911.

**Isle of Man:** Full Parliamentary suffrage granted to women property owners 1881; full Parliamentary suffrage extended to women tax-payers 1892.

#### CANADA.

**Quebec:** Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters 1884; municipal suffrage extended to widows and spinsters who are householders 1909.

**Ontario:** Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters 1884.

**New Brunswick:** Municipal suffrage extended to tax-paying widows and spinsters 1886.

**Nova Scotia:** Municipal suffrage granted to all property-owning women, except those whose husbands are voters, 1886.

**Prince Edward Island:** Municipal suffrage granted property-owning widows and spinsters 1888.

**Manitoba:** Municipal suffrage granted to property-owners and spinsters 1888; full suffrage granted to women 1916.

**Saskatchewan:** Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning women 1888; full suffrage 1916.

**Alberta:** Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning women 1888.

**British Columbia:** Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters 1888.

#### UNITED STATES.

**School suffrage** granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions: Kentucky 1838; Kansas 1861; Michigan 1875; Minnesota 1875; Colorado 1876; New Hampshire 1878; Oregon 1878; Massachusetts 1879; Vermont 1880; New York 1880; Mississippi 1880; Nebraska 1883; Montana 1887; New Jersey 1887; North Dakota 1887; South Dakota 1887;

Arizona 1887; Oklahoma 1890; Connecticut 1893; Ohio 1894; Delaware 1898; Wisconsin 1900.

**Suffrage on taxation and bonding propositions** granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions: Montana 1887; Iowa 1894; Louisiana 1898; New York 1901; Kansas 1903; Michigan 1908.

**Full suffrage** granted all women: Wyoming 1869; Colorado 1893; Utah 1896; Idaho 1896; Washington 1910; California 1911; Kansas 1912; Oregon 1912; Arizona 1912; Alaska 1913; Montana 1914; Nevada 1914.

**Wyoming:** Full suffrage granted 1869; eligible to all offices.

**Colorado:** Full suffrage granted 1893; one woman member in each the upper and lower houses of the Assembly at present.

**Utah:** Full suffrage granted 1896; eligible to all offices.

**Idaho:** Full suffrage granted 1896; eligible to all offices.

**Washington:** Full suffrage granted 1910; eligible to all offices; 2 women members of Legislature 1912.

**California:** Full suffrage granted 1911; 1 woman member of Assembly 1914.

**Kansas:** Municipal suffrage granted 1887; full suffrage granted 1912; eligible to all offices.

**Oregon:** Full suffrage granted 1912; 1 member of Legislature 1914.

**Arizona:** Full suffrage granted 1912.

**Alaska:** Full suffrage granted 1913.

**Illinois:** Municipal and Presidential suffrage granted to women 1913.

**Montana:** Full suffrage granted 1914.

**Nevada:** Full suffrage granted 1914.

## PROGRESS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE DURING 1915.

From the World Almanac, 1916, p. 710.

January 12—The proposed Constitutional Amendment giving nation wide suffrage to women was rejected in the United States House of Representatives by a vote of 204 to 174.

January 26—The West Virginia Legislature voted by large majorities to submit a woman suffrage amendment at the 1916 election.

February 1—The New Jersey Assembly passed the resolution proposing an amendment for suffrage by the unanimous vote of the 57 members present.

February 3—The resolution providing for the submission of the question to the electorate of New York went through the Assembly by a unanimous vote.

February 4—The New York Senate unanimously approved the amendment passed by the House.

February 4—The Massachusetts Senate adopted a suffrage measure on its second passage through the Legislature.

February 4—The North Carolina House rejected an amendment.

February 5—The Arkansas House adopted an amendment previously passed in the Senate.

February 9—The resolution to submit to the voters the amendment in Pennsylvania was passed finally in the House by a vote of 130 to 71.

February 12—The Vermont Senate passed without debate a bill extending the franchise to women at town and city elections and for Presidential electors.

February 12—The Iowa Senate adopted the amendment.

February 16—The Judiciary Central Committee of the Senate of Pennsylvania voted to postpone consideration of the suffrage resolution.

February 16—The amendment was passed in the Massachusetts House by a vote of 196 to 33.

February 16—By a vote of 24 to 28 the South Dakota Senate rejected the bill previously passed by the House granting women the right to vote in municipal issues and for state and county officers not named in the Constitution as "Constitutional Officers."

February 16—The New Jersey Senate adopted amendment to be submitted to the voters 17 to 4.

February 18—The Secretary of the State of New York signed the joint resolution of the Senate and Assembly submitting the resolution to the voters.

February 20—Limited suffrage for women was approved by the Indiana Senate. The bill was made a party measure by the Democratic majority and was adopted under suspension of the rules within five minutes after it was reported out of committee.

February 23—A favorable committee report to the Delaware House and Senate was made.

March 2—By a vote of 8 to 7 the Pennsylvania Senate Judiciary General Committee reported out the amendment resolution.

March 6—The Governor of Iowa signed the proposed amendment.

March 6—The proposed amendment was defeated in the Texas House by 90 to 32.

March 9—Both Houses of the Delaware Legislature killed separate bills. House voted 22 to 8; Senate 11 to 6.

March 15—The Pennsylvania Senate passed, by a vote of 37 to 11, the joint resolution to submit the question to the voters.

March 17—Bill passed Maine Senate.

March 23—Bill failed to pass in the Maine House. The vote in favor was 88 to 59.

March 24—The Rhode Island House by a vote of 65 to 31, sustained a committee's recommendation that action on a bill granting rights to women for Presidential electors be postponed indefinitely.

March 25—Woman suffrage was killed in the Connecticut House by a unanimous vote.

March 30—Women watchers at the polls during the balloting on the amendment in New Jersey were permitted under the terms of a bill approved by the Governor.

April 8—Bill rejected in the Connecticut House, 124 to 106.

April 20—The lower House of Wisconsin rejected the Bradley resolution to submit the question to a vote of the people.

April 22—The Governor of New Jersey signed the bill providing for a special election on October 19 for the submission of the amendment to the voters.

April 23—The Danish Diet adopted an amendment of the Constitution giving the vote to women and conferring upon them the right of election to the Diet.

April 26—The lower House of Florida rejected the resolution to submit the question to the voters in 1916.

May 3—The New Jersey Legislature passed a new bill ordering an election in the suffrage amendment and two similar amendments on October 19.

June 5—The Danish Parliament unanimously passed a new constitution which conferred suffrage on women.

June 19—The King of Denmark signed a bill granting full suffrage to Iceland's women.



July 22—The Wisconsin Senate by a vote of 17 to 14, refused to reconsider its vote in killing the Greil resolution.

October 11—Women voted for the first time in Norway.

October 19—Woman suffrage was defeated at the special election in New Jersey.

November 2—Woman suffrage was defeated in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York.

1916.

February 19—Virginia Lower House defeated an equal suffrage bill by a vote of 52 to 40.

March 14—New York State Assembly passed the Whitney-Brereton Bill, providing for a referendum in 1917 (109-30).

April 10—New York State Senate passed the Whitney-Brereton Bill (33-10).

June 5—Iowa defeated a suffrage amendment by about 5,000 votes.

### Present Campaign States.

South Dakota, fall election, 1916; West Virginia, fall election, 1916.

### NATIONAL SUFFRAGE.

Since 1878 there has been a campaign to pass an amendment to the Federal Constitution conferring suffrage upon women. A tabular history of the amendment follows:

#### PROGRESS OF THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Known in the

64th Congress of the United States as

#### SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the  
United States Conferring upon Women the  
Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

#### "ARTICLE

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

#### History of Amendment.

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878 by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

Reported from Committee:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.

1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.

1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.

1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.

1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.

- 1890, Without recommendation.
- 1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
- 1896, Without recommendation.
- 1913, Favorable majority.
- 1914, Favorable majority.
- 1916, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon in the Senate:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

In the House Reported from Committee:

- 1883, Favorable majority.
- 1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
- 1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
- 1890, Favorable majority.
- 1894, Adverse majority.
- 1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon in the House,

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 64th Congress.

In the Senate,

December 7, 1915, by Senator Sutherland, of Utah, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, and Senator Thompson, of Kansas.

Referred in the Senate to Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Reported in the Senate on January 8, with a favorable recommendation.

In the House,

December 6, 1915, by Representatives Raker, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden.

Referred in the House to the Judiciary Committee, and by it to its sub-committee No. 1.

Reported to the Judiciary Committee by the sub-committee on February 15, 1916, with recommendation that the Judiciary Committee report it to the House without recommendation. By a vote of 9 to 7 on February 15, the Judiciary Committee returned the amendment to sub-committee No. 1 with instructions to hold until December 14. On March 14, the Judiciary Committee by unanimous consent agreed to take final Committee action on the amendment on March 28. On March 28, the Judiciary Committee by a vote of 10 to 9 postponed indefinitely all Constitutional amendments.

Status:

In the Senate,

On the calendar awaiting action.

In the House,

In the Judiciary Committee.

**THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.**

BY MAX S. SCHONBERG.

**Frame of Government.**

The Constitution of the United States provides for a Federal government, the administration of which is divided into three branches—the legislative, executive and judicial branch. The **legislative** branch is vested in a Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate consists of two members from each state chosen for six years by popular vote (since May 1913). Previous to that date they were elected by the state legislatures. A Senator must be at least 30 years of age, must have been a citizen of the United States for at least nine years and must reside in the state for which he is chosen. The House of Representatives consists of members elected every two years. The number of members in each state is determined by population, according to the census taken every ten years. Representatives must be at least 25 years of age, must have been citizens of the United States for at least seven years and must reside in the state for which they are chosen.

The **executive** power is vested in a President, elected indirectly by the people, for four years. The voters in each state elect as many electors as the state has Senators and Representatives in Congress, who in turn meet the second Monday in January following their election and elect the President. The President must be a natural born citizen of the United States, must be at least 35 years of age, and must have resided at least 14 years in the United States.

The **judicial** power is vested in a Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may establish. The Supreme Court at present consists of nine members, appointed for life by the President with the consent of the Senate. There are also 32 circuit judges, apportioned in nine circuits, and 101 district court judges apportioned in the various states and all appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. Thus in this entire framework only members of the House of Representatives, and since 1913, Senators are directly responsible to the people.

**Governmental Practice.**

According to the Constitution a bill in order to become law must be passed by each branch of Congress and signed by the President. If the President vetoes a bill it does not become a law, unless again passed by each branch of Congress by a two-third vote. If a President does not approve or veto a bill within ten days after it has been presented to him, it becomes a law. But in actual practice the U. S. Government has been termed a government by committee

and by judicial interpretation. That is to say, due to the large number of bills presented before Congress, making the consideration of all on the floors of Congress impossible, a bill is first referred to a committee, of which there are in the House alone 59 (64th Cong.). The most important of these committees are,—Ways and Means, Rules, Appropriations, Banking and Currency, Rivers and Harbors, Judiciary, Railways and Canals, Foreign Affairs, Naval Affairs, Military Affairs, Public Lands, Agriculture, Labor, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, etc.

After a bill has been referred to its appropriate committee it must be read three times after which it is debated and voted upon. But as Lord Bryce has said, "The committee can amend the bill as they please, and although they cannot formally extinguish it, they can practically do so by reporting adversely, or by delaying to report it till late in the session, or by not reporting it at all." Thus with the exception of bills of special interest and importance the fate of nearly all bills is practically decided in committee.

### Judicial Interpretation.

Assuming a bill to have become a law, it may have another obstacle to overcome. The constitutionality of the bill may be disputed. That is to say it may be claimed that the law is in conflict with some provision of the Constitution. In such case it is left to the judicial branch to decide whether it is constitutional or not. Usually the law is first tested in the lower Federal courts, and if the result is unsatisfactory to the contestant, he may appeal to the Supreme Court, whose decision is final. An adverse decision by the Supreme Court automatically nullifies a law. Since the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of a law is very frequently not evident or clear, it rests with the Supreme Court to interpret the law. Thus has arisen what is known as government by **judicial interpretation**. At various periods in the history of the U. S. government it has been found that the Supreme Court has given diametrically opposed interpretations on laws similar in character. In recent times the preponderance of judicial opinion in favor of capitalistic interests has led to a movement in favor of the recall of judges by the people.

### Federal Commissions.

In actual practice there is another agency that shares in the functions of government, namely, the various **boards and commissions** which Congress may designate and the members of which are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. The most important of these are, the Inter-state Commerce Commission which has the power to

regulate the operation of the railroads which engage in interstate commerce; the Civil Service Commission, which has charge of filling offices, for which competitive examinations are required; the Federal Trade Commission, which regulates corporations, the nature of whose activity is in restraint of trade, and the Federal Reserve Board, which regulates banking operations in the U. S.

### **Powers of Congress.**

Among the powers which the Constitution confers upon Congress are,—to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises; to pay the debts of the United States; to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states; to coin and regulate the value of money and fix standards of weight and measure; to declare war and raise and support armies, although no appropriation of money may be for a longer term than two years; and “to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States or in any department or office thereof.”

The last clause is known as the “elastic clause.” Its elasticity has given various political and economic interests opportunity in the past to enact legislation which otherwise would have been declared unconstitutional.

### **Powers of President.**

Among the powers conferred upon the President are,—to act as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, to appoint with the consent of the Senate, judges of the Supreme Court, Ambassadors, Consuls, and all other officers whose appointment is not specifically provided for. At present the President appoints hundreds of such officers, and this power is the cause of constant political dickering and favoritism.

### **Amendment of the Constitution.**

The Constitution of the United States may be amended in the following manner: Two-thirds of both houses of Congress may propose an amendment, or the legislatures of two-thirds of the states may call upon Congress to hold a convention for proposing amendments, after which such proposed amendment must be ratified by the legislatures of or conventions in three-fourths of the states. It is obvious that this procedure makes amending the Constitution difficult. Of over 1,700 amendments that have been offered, 17 have succeeded in becoming a part of the Constitution.



### The Electorate.

Citizens entitled to vote in the federal elections are generally male citizens over 21 years of age. The qualifications are determined by the various states. The franchise is not absolutely universal; residence at least one year in most states is necessary, in some states the payment of taxes, in others registration.

On the other hand many of the Western States admit to the franchise unnaturalized persons who have formally declared their intention to become citizens. Several of the Southern States have adopted methods, with the express and avowed purpose of excluding the negroes from the franchise, and yet avoiding the constitutional consequences of discriminating "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Untaxed Indians are excluded from the franchise, in most states convicts, in some states duellists and fraudulent voters; in Massachusetts voters are required to be able to read English. In some Southern States they are required to give a reasonable explanation of what they read.

Wyoming (1869), Colorado (1893), Utah, Idaho (1896), Washington (1910), California (1911), Oregon, Arizona, Kansas (1912), Illinois,<sup>1</sup> Alaska (1913), Montana, Nevada (1914), admit women to the franchise on equal terms with men.

### Administration.

	Salary
President—Woodrow Wilson .....	\$75,000
Vice President—Thomas Riley Marshall.....	12,000

The Cabinet—arranged in the order of succession for the Presidency:

Secretary of State.....	Robert Lansing
Secretary of the Treasury....	William Gibbs McAdoo
Secretary of War.....	Newton D. Baker
Attorney General.....	Thomas Watt Gregory
Post-master General.....	Albert Sidney Burleson
Secretary of the Navy.....	Josephus Daniels
Secretary of the Interior....	Franklin Knight Lane
Secretary of Agriculture....	David Franklin Houston
Secretary of Commerce.....	William C. Redfield
Secretary of Labor.....	William Bauchop Wilson
Salaries of Cabinet Officers are \$12,000 each.	

Cabinet officers are chosen by the President and must be confirmed by the Senate. The Secretaries are responsible to the President for their respective departments.

<sup>1</sup> Vote for Presidential electors only.

## THE COMMISSION FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

By FELIX GRENDON.

### History.

A generation ago the cities of the United States were infamous for the corruption and inefficiency of their governments. Those citizens who did not directly profit by the infamy, viewed it with the helpless fatalism that a famine or an earthquake inspires. Presently, a few Americans, stung by the criticisms of Mr. Bryce and other horrified visitors, made the astonishing discovery that nothing in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, or the laws of Nature imposed a permanent condition of graft and mismanagement on any of our city administrations.

All kinds of proposals for electoral and administrative reforms followed this discovery. A few obscure attempts to test these proposals in practice ended in comparative failure. And no lasting experiment was tried until 1900, when a hurricane nearly swept Galveston into the sea. The stricken city, on the edge of bankruptcy, was in a fair way to being pushed over the precipice by its untrained, muddle-headed, incompetent authorities. In self-preservation, Galvestonians took what was considered a desperate step. They summarily discarded their outworn Mayor and Council form of government and tried the proposed Commission form.

Time sided with the change. Stimulated by Galveston's success, other cities established Commissions to supersede the old type of municipal rule. By August 1916, the following figures summarize the spread of the Commission plan in the United States:

Number of Cities  
operating under  
Commission plan  
362

Number operating  
under Commission-  
Manager plan  
39

Total population  
living under  
Commission rule  
9,000,000

### Sequence of Adoption.

Year	No. of cities with pop. over 30,000 that adopted the plan
1907.....	3
1908.....	2
1909.....	8
1910.....	7
1911.....	14
1912.....	14
1913.....	20
1914.....	7
1915.....	3

The decrease in 1915 may in part be put down to the rise of the Commission-Manager movement. It may be noted that several fairly large cities like New Orleans (340,000), St. Paul (214,000), Jersey City (267,000), Buffalo (420,000), and Portland (207,000) now operate under the Commission plan.

### What is the Commission Plan?

Suppose the Cunard Steamship Company were suddenly to go to the insane length of making the Commissary Department of each ship independent of the Captain, and suppose, at the same time, they put the carpenters from the fore-castle and the stokers from the engine-room wholly under the Chief Steward's jurisdiction. The resulting conflict of authority would be so intolerable that a strike of all the captains and engineers in the line would instantly follow.

Yet such an intolerable division and conflict of authority is precisely the salient feature of the old Mayor and Council (or Alderman) form of government. What the Commission form aims at is to concentrate all the legislative and administrative functions of the municipality in a body of 3, 5, or 7 persons elected not by districts but at large, and responsive to the wishes of the electorate through the medium of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. Each Commissioner becomes the head of a City Department, but remains subject to the direction of the whole Commission in which is vested not only the paramount authority of a ship's captain but the sole power to enact the city's laws. Thus Commissioner A becomes the head, say, of the Building Department, Commissioner B of the Health Department, and so on. The Commission as a unit, however, determines the general policy of each department and relates it to the welfare of the whole City.

### The Charter and its Provisions.

A Commission city operates under a charter

- a. which a state-wide law (as in Iowa or Kansas) permits any city to adopt (e. g. Des Moines); or
- b. which the state grants specifically to the city in question (e. g. Galveston).

The evolution of the Commission plan charter is as striking as the evolution of a locomotive or a horse. Each new plan presents variations on, and supplements to, its predecessors. The later commission charters include most, if not all, of the following provisions:

1. The distinguishing feature: A small board of commissioners holding all the legislative and administrative powers.
2. The short ballot. The commissioners are the only elective officials.
3. The non-partisan direct primary. Party designations are not permitted on primary ballots.

4. **The Preferential Ballot.** This records the second and third, as well as the first, choice of each voter. It is a device for minimizing the force of party affiliation and for securing the election of those candidates acceptable to the largest possible number of electors.
5. **The initiative, referendum, and recall.** These instruments enable the people to enact overdue ordinances, discharge sleepy or incompetent commissioners, and curb elected officers in their passion for making private Christmas presents of public franchises.
6. **Civil Service Appointment.**
7. **Proportional Representation** (in Ashtabula, O.)

### Advantages Claimed.

Three decided advantages are claimed for the Commission plan:

1. **Direct and definite responsibility to the people.** The board that holds ■■ undivided power, shoulders ■■ undivided responsibility. In ■ non-Commission city, the municipal officers can slip in and out of the loop-holes created by divided and overlapping powers. They can playfully challenge dissatisfied citizens to enter the game of catch-if-catch can. Under the Commission plan, this temporizing amusement is out of the question.
2. **A well co-ordinated government.** Duplications of function, and the friction and clashes due to overlapping authorities, are eliminated. Team work pays in administration no less than in sport.
3. **Efficient management.** In the Mayor and Council system, the city is a political unit first, and a business unit only after partisan considerations have been attended to. The logic and the common sense of the Commission plan reverse this order of attention and invite the Commissioners to regard the city primarily as a business corporation to be managed by scientific methods applied in the highest human terms.

### The Commission-Manager Plan.

Efficiency engineers were quick to observe a serious obstacle to the establishment of the third claim. They pointed out that the most elementary principle of scientific management requires the services of an expert at the head of each administrative department. This principle is flatly ignored in the Commission plan whose distinctive feature lies in heading each department with one of the elected Commissioners. Unfortunately Commissioners, like other elective officials in the United States, are voted into office not because they are highly-trained specialists, but because they are "good fellows," or speak with megaphonic voices, or weigh 300 pounds, or sport bellicose teeth, or have an Irish grandmother, or once lived down South in Dixie. In short, for any conceivable reason save their administrative fitness. Now a politician may be a good sport or have an Irish grandmother and yet not know enough about managing a City Water department to come in out of the rain.

How to separate the Commissioners from their administrative jobs without relieving them of their complete responsibility—this became a burning question for students of municipal affairs. It was answered by borrowing the German

burgomaster idea and modifying the Commission plan into the Commission-Manager plan. The new plan initiated two tremendous changes:

1. The elected Commission is limited to enacting legislation and shaping a general policy.
2. A City Manager, appointed by the Commission, and qualified as an administrative expert, becomes the executive head of the whole administration. While the City Manager appoints and removes all (expert) Heads of City Departments at will, he himself is subject to removal by the board of Commissioners. All administrative responsibility is thus centralized in one man for whose competence the elected Commission must answer to the people.

### Political Value of Commission Government.

The least venturesome of prophets might safely risk the prediction that Commission-Management is destined to become the characteristic form of government for cities in the United States. It is true that the Commission plan has hitherto been espoused chiefly by cities of small size. But the administrative needs and tendencies to which the plan responds are emerging unmistakably in cities of the largest size. Witness, for instance, the recent efficiency movement in the municipality of New York and the concentration of almost all important powers in the same city's eight-headed Board of Estimate.

It must not be supposed, however, that Commission government is a panacea for all municipal ills. A Commission-Manager charter is simply a fine piece of administrative machinery, as superior in organization to the old-fashioned city charter as an 80 horse-power motor car is to a carriage and pair. But if a man who sells his horses and buys a car, engages an unskilful chauffeur or gives vague and stupid commands regarding his destination, his car may serve him no better than a carriage, and sometimes may actually serve him worse. In the last resort, the success of the Commission plan depends upon the ambition and public spirit of the electors who control it.

### Pros and Cons.

Opponents of the Commission and the Commission-Manager forms of government brand them both as undemocratic. This is, in effect, the gist of all the adverse criticism. But it usually takes one or more of three forms, namely that:

1. The concentration of power promotes an oligarchy.
2. The City Manager may readily become the City Boss.
3. A small Minority party is more easily excluded from representation on a small Commission elected at large, than on a large Council (or Board of Aldermen) elected by districts.

In reply, it may be said that

1. No political machinery, however ingeniously devised,



will of itself insure majority rule. Despite Habeas Corpus, the Direct Primary, and the Vote by Ballot, a well organized minority that knows what it wants, can always lord it over an unorganized majority that is neither self-conscious nor determined. An understanding of this simple principle is the secret of Tammany's impregnable rule and of the longevity of the minority machines in most American non-Commission cities.

It is the chief merit of the Commission plan that the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, which are usually a part of it, train the electorate to greater political aptitude and at the same time provide a means of checking the despotism that centralization invites.

Strictly speaking, every government, by its very nature, is an oligarchy: that is, it is a rule of the many by the few. The paradox of a democratic government is that its rulers do not command the people but serve them. Herein lies the difference between the Commission and the non-Commission plans. The latter gives the voter no immediate weapon against a ruler who forgets to render service. The former remedies his omission by giving the voter the power to recall. A public servant will think twice of playing the master when he is effectively subject to discharge.

2. The City Manager may and should become the city Boss, but his opportunities for bossing would not evoke enthusiasm from Mr. Murphy of Manhattan or Mr. Barnes of Albany. The City Manager is, if you please, a visible Boss. He is a trained administrator whose services are terminable at the will of a Commission itself liable to prompt recall by a dissatisfied public. The one alternative to this visible administrative Boss is the invisible political Boss. He is of the Tweed or Croker stripe, and his services are terminable only by his followers when the pork-barrel runs low. The practical choice of each American municipality today lies between these two styles, between the Boss who helps the city to himself and the Boss who helps himself to the city.

3. The third objection, of doubtful validity in any case, is robbed of all its force when the Commissioners are elected by Proportional Representation. This device enables each party or group to be represented on the Commission in proportion to its voting strength. Thus in Ashtabula the Socialists polled one-seventh of the total vote cast at the last election, and consequently gained one seat on the seven-headed Commission. Does anyone doubt that a single Socialist on a small but powerful commission board can turn his post to better account than six Socialists on a large but obscure and powerless aldermanic board?

Proportional Representation is almost certain to be extended from Ashtabula to a majority of the other Commission cities, and to a majority of all American cities when the Commission plan reaches them in its contagious sweep. This is a matter of no small concern to Socialist and minority group adherents generally. For, once the principle of Proportional Representation is widely established in municipal elections, voters will not be happy until it is adopted in national elections. How startling a revolution its adoption would effect in the next Socialist representation in Congress, any intelligent reader may figure out for himself.

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## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

BY CLARENCE G. HOAG.

The fundamental principle of proportional representation is the election of each member of policy-determining bodies—city councils, state legislatures, the House of Representatives, etc.—by a unanimous constituency instead of by the politically mixed geographical constituency still used in the United States and Canada.

The reasons for making the change are evident on a little reflection. Under the old system—one member for each quota of people who sleep inside of an arbitrary line on the map—the largest united group of voters in the district, though usually only about half of the whole number and often less than half, get all the district's representation, the ballots of the other voters being simply thrown away. Under such a system the number of seats in the representative body won by any party, large or small, depends not only on the number of votes cast by the party but on the way in which they happen to be distributed among the districts. Thus in Indiana, in 1914, the Democratic votes for Representatives in Congress, though only 46% of all cast in the state, elected **all thirteen** of the Representatives. With the votes of the several parties distributed differently among the districts, however, the same number of Democratic votes in Indiana might have failed to elect a single man. Of

course the smaller parties fare especially badly under the present system. For example, in the Congressional election of 1912 the Socialist vote in the country, though large enough to entitle the party to more than a score of seats, failed to win a single one. The same year, too, the Progressive Party won only a small part of the seats to which its voting strength entitled it. The story of a fairly typical state is told by the table below, the figures of which are from the World Almanac of 1915.

**Elections of Representatives in Congress,  
Pennsylvania, 1914.**

PARTY	Votes	Seats won	Seats deserved	Seats that would have been won under proportional representation
Republican .....	592,561	26	17	17
Democratic .....	347,561	6	10	10
Progressive .....	162,183	0	4	4
Socialist .....	49,035	0	1	1
Prohibitionist .....	30,358	0	0	0
Smaller parties .....	22,615	0	0	0

The means employed to make the change to proportional representation are simple. The single-member-district, of course, must be done away with, the members being elected either at large, as would be suitable in the case of most city councils, or from many-membered districts, as would be suitable for the council of Chicago or New York, for state legislatures, or for the national House. All that remains is to provide appropriate ballots and rules for counting them.

**The List System.**

One way to carry out the system is to let each party nominate as many candidates as it wants to, up to the number of seats to be filled (at large or in the many-membered district, as the case may be), to print each party's candidates in a separate party list on the ballot, and to have the voting done by the marking of the voter's favorite name on his favorite list. When such ballots are counted, of course, each party is given as many seats, as its votes entitle it to; and the particular candidates on a party list to receive the seats won by the party are those who stand highest on the list in personal votes. This system, with various minor modifications, is used for parliamentary elections in Belgium, Sweden, Finland, some of the cantons (states) of Switzerland, and elsewhere. It is proposed, in the bill introduced in Congress by Representative Bailey of Pennsylvania, for optional use in the Congressional elections of any state which elects three or more members of the House.

### The Hare System.

The Hare system, which is more flexible and free than the List system, is used for parliamentary elections in Denmark, Tasmania, and South Africa, and for city elections in the Transvaal. It is to be used for the Senate and at least part of the House in Ireland. It has also recently been adopted by Ashtabula, Ohio, for the election of the City Council of seven.

Under this system the candidates of all parties are arranged in one list, with or without party names; the voter indicates his preferences among the candidates to any extent that he pleases; and the ballots are so sorted at the central electoral office (only the first choices being counted at the precincts) as to build up as many unanimous constituencies of voters as there are seats to be filled. Each ballot is counted for the candidate whom the voter who cast it preferred among those who could actually use it in making up the quota of votes necessary to secure election.

During the last year strong movements for the adoption of proportional representation have developed in a number of American and Canadian cities, including Ottawa, Edmonton, Calgary, Los Angeles, St. Louis, and Springfield, Mass.

### STATUS OF THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL.

States	Initiative and Referendum adopted in	Recall adopted in
Arizona .....	1911	1911
Arkansas .....	1910	
California .....	1911	1911
Colorado .....	1910	1912
Idaho .....	1912 <sup>1</sup>	1912 <sup>2</sup>
Iowa .....	1916	
Kansas .....		1914
Louisiana .....		1914 <sup>2</sup>
Maine .....	1908 <sup>1</sup>	
Maryland .....	1915 <sup>2</sup>	
Michigan .....	1913	1913 <sup>2</sup>
Minnesota .....	1916	
Missouri .....	1908	
Montana .....	1906 <sup>1</sup>	
Nebraska .....	1912	
Nevada .....	1904 <sup>2</sup>	1912
New Mexico .....	1911 <sup>2</sup>	
North Dakota .....	1914	
Ohio .....	1912	
Oklahoma .....	1907	
Oregon .....	1902	1908
South Dakota .....	1898 <sup>1</sup>	
Utah .....	1900 <sup>1</sup>	
Washington .....	1912 <sup>1</sup>	1912

<sup>1</sup> The Initiative applies to statutes but not to constitutional amendments.

<sup>2</sup> The referendum only.

<sup>2</sup> The recall does not apply to judges.

## STATE CONSTABULARY.

In 1905 Pennsylvania adopted a measure providing for a State Constabulary to be used for policing rural districts, and in labor disputes. The militia had been, on account of the experiences in the 1902 strike, when militia men fraternized with strikers, ineffective, and this more efficient weapon was devised. The Pennsylvania Constabulary has practically unlimited power in the way of making arrests and searching without warrant. Only the legislature, or the governor when the legislature is not in session, is its superior.

From the date of its inception, organized labor in Pennsylvania has opposed the Constabulary, and has agitated for its abolition. This action has been fought, so far successfully by the Manufacturers' Associations. The case for the constabulary as stated in a Manufacturers' Bulletin is as follows:

"Men and women in this state who own property should combine now in demanding that the dishonest element in labor organizations keep its hand off the state police.

"Manufacturers and employers whom it has saved from bankruptcy express themselves vigorously against any plan to abolish, restrict or hamper the force."

As against this argument Labor pits the findings of the Industrial Relations Commission that:

"It is an extremely efficient force for crushing strikes, but it is not successful in preventing violence in connection with strikes, in maintaining the legal and civil rights of the parties to the dispute, nor in protecting the public. On the contrary, violence seems to increase rather than diminish when the constabulary is brought into an industrial dispute; the legal and civil rights of the workers have on numerous occasions been violated by the constabulary and citizens not in any way connected with the dispute, and innocent of any interference with the constabulary have been brutally treated, and in one case shot down by members of the constabulary, who have escaped punishment for their acts. Organized upon a strictly military basis, it appears to assume in taking the field in connection with a strike, that the strikers are the enemies of the state and that a campaign should be waged against them as such."

Because of the supposed effectiveness of the State Constabulary in Pennsylvania, and in spite of the findings of the Industrial Relations Commission, New Jersey and New York attempted to pass laws establishing similar bodies. Organized labor, and radical influences, caused at least a temporary defeat of the measures.

## PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES.

By WILLIAM M. LEISERSON.

In more than half the states there are employment offices or labor exchanges conducted either by the states or by municipalities, at a total cost roughly estimated at about \$300,000 per year. All together about one hundred such state



and municipal offices are now in operation; and they fill annually some 800,000 positions. Most of these public employment offices are established by state law. In a few states the city governments have taken the initiative, while Ohio and Wisconsin have joint support for their employment offices by both city and state governments. In addition to all these, the various branch offices of the United States Bureau of Immigration have been doing an employment agency business during the last two years. These are almost all located in cities where there are state or municipal employment offices, and the amount of business done has not been great.

Ohio led the way in 1890 with the first American law creating public labor exchanges. The industrial depression a few years later gave some impetus to the movement, but by 1900 there were in existence only the offices in New York City, Chicago, Seattle, St. Louis, Omaha and Superior, in addition to those in the five largest cities of Ohio. Several other offices had been established but were later abandoned; the New York law enacted in 1896 was repealed in 1906. From 1900 to 1910 state laws were enacted in rapid succession and by the end of this period there were about sixty offices located in 19 different states.

Up to this time little attention was given to securing efficient administration of public employment bureaus. The arguments that had secured the establishment of the bureaus were in the main three: (1) Fraud and extortion by private labor agencies; (2) Large numbers of unemployed in the industrial centers; and (3) Lack of farm labor in the agricultural states. On none of these conditions did the public bureaus have any material effect, even after years of operation. Reasons for this failure to accomplish their purposes were not far to seek. Few people knew the principles and methods of properly conducting such offices and no one seemed to care to study the details of their administration in order to find out how to make them successful. The state laws were crudely drawn, and the laws of two or three states with all their imperfections were uncritically copied by the others. Only Massachusetts and the City of Seattle required all the office-force to be civil service appointees while Illinois had a partial merit system. In all other cases political considerations determined appointments. The records and the statistics of almost all the offices would not bear investigation.

#### **New Stage in the Movement.**

Beginning about 1910 came a new stage in the movement for public labor exchanges. Since that time Wisconsin, Ohio, and Illinois have amended their laws, reorganized their offices

and adopted new and efficient methods of management. New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and California have enacted new laws embodying the most approved principles of administration that recent study and practice have developed, while New York City, Los Angeles, Cal., and several other cities are conducting municipal bureaus along most efficient and progressive lines.

Massachusetts led the way in 1907 with an excellent system of records and an efficient business organization. Wisconsin followed in 1911 adapting these to its own needs and adding an improved method of selecting the office force and a joint committee of employers and workers to advise in the management and insure neutral conduct between labor and capital. Ohio in 1914 took a further step when, in conjunction with the City of Cleveland, it established special bureaus for juveniles and immigrants in connection with the State-City Labor Exchange. The recent laws enacted in New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and California have adopted most of these principles, and civil service appointments have been made the rule in most of the offices. All of this development has brought considerable uniformity of record systems, methods of management and principles of administration in the leading states.

The recent progress toward efficiency and success of public employment offices has been due very largely to an organization of employment bureau officials known as The American Association of Public Employment Offices. This was organized in Chicago in December 1913 and annual meetings have been held since that time. Details of conducting employment bureaus are discussed at these meetings. From the discussions has come a certain consensus of opinion regarding fundamental principles which is gradually finding its way into all the states. Growing directly out of the work of this association has come the organization of the National Farm Labor Exchange with the primary purpose of handling the vast army of harvest hands needed in the grain states of the mid-west. In 1915 the Exchange, which is a co-operative arrangement of the labor and immigration officials of the grain states and the Federal Government, had its first experience in attempting to control the distribution of harvest hands. Not much was accomplished, but the beginning of an effective movement for controlling this great army of labor has been made.

Little headway has been made up to the present toward securing a national system of public labor exchanges. Many bills to accomplish this purpose have been introduced in Congress during the last two sessions, but these bills have not been based on careful investigation of the exact needs

and they have failed to come to a vote. At the present time there is before the house the Nolan bill (H.R. 5783) reported favorably by the Committee on Labor. This bill is better than most of the others, but leaves much to be desired. It creates a Bureau of Employment in the Department of Labor with power to establish employment bureaus throughout the country and to co-operate with the existing state and local bureaus. The relations between the existing offices and those to be established by the United States Government are, however, not definitely worked out, and until this is done there can be no successful national system. The employment work of the U. S. Bureau of Immigration has failed of its purpose primarily because it ignored the existence of local offices and attempted to duplicate their work. The U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations prepared a plan of organization for a National Labor Exchange in the form of a bill which attempted to weld the existing public employment offices into a national system by creating a federal bureau with only supervisory and co-ordinating powers. There were to be no federal local bureaus. But this plan has neither been published nor introduced in Congress. It was indorsed in substance by the American Association of Public Employment Offices.

Meanwhile the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics is publishing in its "Monthly Review" statistical reports from public employment bureaus all over the country. This has an excellent effect in leading to uniformity of record-keeping so that comparison and co-operation among the offices may become possible. The American Association of Public Employment Offices has two committees at work, one on a uniform system of record-keeping, the other on a model employment office law, and its annual meetings continue to discuss plans for a National Labor Exchange. In a short time we may expect these plans to take concrete form, and federal action is likely to follow soon afterward.

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## NATURALIZATION.

By I. M. SACKIN.

### A Guide to Applicants for Citizenship.

#### I. GENERAL STATEMENT AND PRACTICE.

##### A. WHO CAN BECOME A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES AND WHO CANNOT?

(1) All free white persons and those of African nativity and African descent can become citizens of the United States.

(2) Chinese, Japanese, Malays, etc., are excluded from naturalization.

(3) The following persons are also excluded: Anarchists, criminals, illiterates, polygamists and persons who cannot prove good moral character.

##### B. WHAT STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TO OBTAIN FIRST PAPERS? (*Declaration of Intention*)

(1) First papers may be obtained at any time after arrival in the United States, the only condition being that the applicant must be at least 18 years of age.

(2) The applicant must go to the court house in the city or county where he resides and the clerk of the court authorized by law to do so, will prepare the necessary certificate for him.

(3) The legal fee for first papers is one dollar (\$1.00).

(4) The applicant must be prepared to supply the following information: (a) Place and date of birth; (b) Place at which he boarded vessel which brought him to the United States; (c) Name of such vessel and place and date of its arrival in the United States; (d) Place of last foreign residence. **No other information is necessary.**

(5) No witnesses are required.

(6) The first papers or the Declaration of Intention cannot be obtained by applying through the mails; the applicant must appear in person.

(7) It is important that the applicant furnish the clerk of the court his true name, and if he has ever been known by or used any other name, also to advise the clerk of such fact.

(8) It is the duty of the court to furnish the applicant with a certified copy of the Declaration of Intention, and it is important that the applicant carefully read the certificate before leaving the court house, and that he immediately call the attention of the clerk to any mistakes which might have crept into it.

## C. WHAT STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TO OBTAIN SECOND PAPERS?

(1) **When application may be made:** As soon as the applicant has lived five years in the United States and two years have elapsed since the taking out of the first papers. But he must not wait until his first papers are more than seven years old, as the first papers are good only for seven years.

(2) **The Petition:** Before making out the Petition for second papers it is important that the applicant determine whether the case comes under the new law or the old. The following persons come under the new law:

All persons who have arrived in the United States since June 29th, 1906, and all persons who have taken out their first papers since September 27th, 1906.

### A. UNDER THE OLD LAW.

The applicant goes to the clerk of the court in the county where he resides and brings with him his first papers and two witnesses who are citizens of the United States. The clerk will hand him an application blank which he must fill out. His witnesses must make oath that they have known him for the past five years and that he is a man of good moral character.

### B. UNDER THE NEW LAW.

The applicant must go to the clerk of the court in the county where he resides and obtain a blank form of application for a certificate of landing. This must be filled out and sent to the Department of Labor at Washington, D. C. Upon receipt of this at Washington, the said certificate will be filed and recorded and a copy returned to the clerk of the court. The clerk will then inform him by letter that such certificate has been received. Upon receipt of this letter, the applicant should go to the clerk's office with his two witnesses and make out a petition for second papers in the same manner as under the old law.

(3) **After the petition is filed:** Upon the acceptance of the petition by the clerk, the applicant will receive a card or a certificate with the number of his petition printed thereon. This card should be retained as it may be useful for future reference. He will next be called before the United States attorney in his district who will question him and his witnesses with regard to the statements made by him in the petition. He will also be required to answer questions about the Constitution and Government of the United States.

(4) **The Final Hearing:** The final hearing is in open court. The Judge examines the applicant as to his knowl-



edge of the Constitution of the United States and that of the State where he resides. He also examines his witnesses as to their qualifications and questions them as to his reputation and character. At the conclusion of the hearing the Judge either orders his admission to citizenship or denies his application.

## II. IMPORTANT RULES AND DECISIONS.

1. It is a felony to make a single false material statement under signature in any of the proceedings in connection with naturalization, or for a witness to swear falsely that he has known the petitioner for at least five years.

2. The following persons do not require first papers: A person under twenty-one years old who has been honorably discharged from the United States army, or has served five years in the United States navy, or one enlistment in the marine corps of the United States.

3. A person who has taken out his first papers and has afterwards served three years on a merchant vessel of the United States, and can produce a certificate of good conduct, may be naturalized without proving five years residence in the United States.

4. A woman citizen of the United States loses her citizenship if she marries an alien.

5. Women may apply for citizenship if single, widowed, or divorced, provided they are otherwise qualified.

6. The wife of an alien cannot be naturalized during the lifetime of her husband.

7. An applicant for naturalization must be able to read the English language and sign his own name.

8. The minor children of aliens who were born or have resided out of the United States at the time of the naturalization of their parents, and now dwelling within the United States, become citizens by such naturalization.

9. The naturalization of the husband, naturalizes the wife and their children under 21 years of age.

10. A woman and minor children can obtain second papers on the first papers of the husband should he die before becoming a citizen.

11. A petitioner for naturalization may compel his witnesses to come to court to testify by serving them with subpoenas which may readily be obtained from the clerk of the court.

**MEANING OF THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT.**

BY GIFFORD PINCHOT.

A man who has a suit of clothes is foolish if he tears it needlessly, gets it soiled without cause, and by carelessness wears it out before its time. A farmer who owns a farm is foolish if he exhausts the soil, destroys his woodlot, and lets the farm run down from the lack of skill and foresight in handling it. A State is foolish if it allows its roads to be gullied, its bridges to grow unsafe, and the State property and institutions to deteriorate for the lack of proper maintenance and care. A Nation is foolish which permits the great natural resources, the foundations of prosperity, the raw materials of clothes, food, and shelter to be needlessly wasted and destroyed for the lack of organized intelligent foresight.

Conservation means nothing more than the application of common sense and the long look ahead to the timber, coal, iron, the streams, and the soil, with the idea of protecting them from needless waste and injury, and of getting out of them for the benefit of all the people the best service they are capable of rendering.

Conservation means the use and development of our natural resources first for the benefit of us who are now on the earth, and secondly for the benefit of those who are to come after us.

One of the most important things that can possibly be done for those who come after us is to prevent the creation of giant monopolies which will fatten upon them. Many or most of such monopolies, like the Steel Trust, the Standard Oil Company, and the Copper Trust, are based on the control of natural resources. Among those great trusts which are not yet completely formed, but are rapidly forming, is the Waterpower Trust, the most dangerous of them all, for whoever controls waterpower controls mechanical power, and mechanical power is at the bottom of transportation, manufacture, and all the industries of the Nation. It is good for us and our descendants that our waterpowers should be developed, but it is not good that they should be monopolized.

Here is what Conservation stands for, and what the Conservationists have been fighting for,—the right of all our people now and hereafter to their fair share in the benefits which the natural resources of this rich continent can be made to confer,

# INDEX.

## A.

Academic Freedom, 319.  
 Accidents, Industrial in United States, 290; insurance against (see Social Insurance; Workmen's Compensation).  
 Administration of the United States, 359.  
 American Federation of Labor—character, 18; convention, 1915, 21; departments, 19; directory of, 28; and eight hour law 24, and immigration, 22; finances, 20; industrial unions in, 19; and legislation, 17, 19; membership, 19; in Mexico, 239; on preparedness, 22; principles, 17; publications issued by, 27; and the Socialists, 89.  
 Agriculture, Socialist Party program regarding, 123; women in, 255.  
 Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 31, 51.  
 American Association of Public Employment Offices, 370.  
 American Labor Movement, 11.  
 "American Socialist," The, 93, 144.  
 Anarchist Movement in China, 224; Holland, 195; Portugal, 205; Spain, 213.  
 Anseele, Edouard, 167.  
 "Appeal to Reason," 90, 145.  
 Arbeiter Ring, 39.  
 Arbitration, compulsory in Canada, 231; Norway, 203; New Zealand, 246; legislation on, 60; in the Needle Trades, 55.  
 Arizona Strike, 50.  
 Argentine, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 232.  
 Ashtabula, Proportional Representation in, 364.  
 Australia, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 242.  
 Austria, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 161; Young People's Movement, 247.

## B.

Bakunin, 160.  
 Balkan Confederation, 169, 193, 212.  
 Bayonne Strike, 48.  
 Belgium, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 165; Young People's Movement, 249.  
 Benson, Allan L., 92, 129.  
 Berger, Victor L., 90; work in Congress, 100.  
 Berkeley, Calif., Socialist Administration of, 116.  
 Blacklist, definition, 88; court de-

cisions on, 70.  
 Bohemia, Socialist Movement in, 162.  
 Boycott, definition of, 84; legality, 85; court decisions on, 68, 69; and Clayton Act, 85.  
 Boycott, Blacklist and Injunction, 84.  
 Brandeis, Louis D., and the "Protocol," 55.  
 Brazil, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 232.  
 Briand, Aristide, 178.  
 Brush Industry, (Mass.) Minimum Wage Legislation, 62.  
 Budget, Wage-Workers', 279.  
 Building Trades Department of A. F. of L., 19.  
 Bulgaria, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 168; Young People's Movement, 249.  
 Burnett Bill (See Immigration).  
 Butte, Montana, Socialist Administration of, 116.

## C.

Cahan, Abraham, 31.  
 California, Socialist Legislation in, 105.  
 Canada, Socialist and Labor movements in, 229.  
 Candidates, Presidential, Socialist, 1916, 129.  
 Caplan, and Schmidt, trial of, 45.  
 Chicago Teachers' Federation, 32.  
 Chicago Strike, 51.  
 Child Labor, and Woman, 254; Federal Law, 261; minimum age and hours, 259, 261; in agriculture, 255, 257, 258, 264; in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 256, 258, 259, 267.  
 Chile, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 233.  
 China, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 222; Six Power Loan to, 326.  
 Christian labor unions in Belgium, 166; in Germany, 184.  
 Christian Socialist Fellowship, 157.  
 "Cientificos" in Mexico, 235.  
 Cities, operating under Commission plan, 360.  
 Citizenship, a guide to applicants for (see Naturalization).  
 Civil Rights of Employees, 61.  
 Class Struggle and War, 332.  
 Clayton Anti-Trust Law and Boycotts, 85.  
 Cloakmakers' "Protocol," 55.  
 Closed Shop, court decisions on, 70.  
 Colorado, Lawson murder trial, 45.

Commission Form of Government, The, 360; arguments pro and con, 362; history of, 360.  
 Commission—Manager plan, 362.  
 Commission on Industrial Relations, The, 269.  
 Commissions (State) Minimum Wage, 64.  
 Community Centers in the U. S., 217.  
 Compensation, Workmen's, in various states, 292; compulsory vs. elective, 293; limits for disability benefits, 296; medical aid provided, 294; significant features of, 293; court decisions affecting, 78; in Mexico, 237.  
 Compulsory Education, 306; legislation concerning, 306.  
 Congress of the United States, election of, 356; powers of, 358.  
 Connolly, James, 192; in memoriam, 250.  
 Conscription, attitude of British Labor Movement to, 190.  
 Conservation of Natural Resources, 375.  
 Constabulary, State (see State Constabulary).  
 Constitution of the United States, 356; amendment of, 358.  
 Contempt of Court, court decisions on, 68, 70.  
 Contract of Employment, court decisions affecting, 74.  
 Cooperation in the United States, 300; history of, 301; present status of, 302; relation to labor unions, 303; difficulties of, 303, 304; Consumers', 301, 305; Belgian form of, 305; miners' co-operatives, 302; legislation on, 60; League of America, 303.  
 Cooperative Movement in Argentine, 232; Austria, 164; Belgium, 167; Denmark, 172; Finland, 176; Germany, 185; Gt. Britain, 190; Hungary, 199; Norway, 204; Russia, 211; Spain, 215; Sweden, 218; Switzerland, 220.  
 Copping vs. Kansas Case, 68, 71, 82.  
 "Council of Conciliation" in the Garment Industry (N. Y.), 56.  
 Court Decisions in United States Affecting Labor, 68.  
 Crane, Walter, in memoriam, 250.  
 Cuba, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 234.  
 Czech, Socialist Movement, 162.

D.

Danbury Hatters' Case and the Supreme Court, 86-87; and A. F. of L., 25.

DeLeon, Daniel, 89.  
 Debts, National, in various countries, 330, 331.  
 Debs, Eugene V., 90, 91.  
 "Declaration of intention," becoming a citizen, 372.  
 Definitions of Socialism, 2, 159, 253.  
 Democratic Party, platform concerning Labor (See Labor and the Democrats).  
 Democratizing the Schools, 313.  
 Denmark, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 171; Young People's Movement, 247.  
 Diaz Regime in Mexico, 234.  
 Dick Military Law, 22.  
 Direct Action, Socialist Party position on, 121.

E.

Earnings in the United States, 275.  
 Economic Imperialism, 325; and the Balkan States, 326; and the Boer War, 327; and Egypt, 325; French, 325; German, 326; British, 325, 327; and Mexico, 325, 327; and Persia, 326; and Turkey, 326.  
 Education, Public 306; attendance, 307, 308; employment certificates, 307; Mortality in School Attendance, 308; Federal Aid to, 311; Compulsory, 306; Vocational, 315; (see Democratizing the Schools).  
 Eight-Hour Day, Extent of, 58; attitude of A. F. of L., 24.  
 Election Reform in Austria, 162; Belgium, 166; Denmark, 171; Holland, 194; Hungary, 197; Roumania, 208.  
 Electorate, The, of the United States, 359.  
 Employment Agencies, and the white slave traffic, 283.  
 Employment Offices, Public, court decisions affecting, 77; (See Public Employment Offices).  
 Employment on Public Works, 59.  
 England (See Great Britain and Ireland).  
 European War (See Economic Imperialism and War, Militarism and "Preparedness").  
 Examining and Licensing of Workmen, legislation concerning, 59.  
 Exchanges, Labor (See Public Employment Offices).  
 Executive, The, of the United States, 356.

F.

Fabian Society, 186, 187.  
 Factory Inspection, in Europe and the United States, 65; legisla-

tion concerning, 60; court decisions on, 73.  
 Federal Aid for the Common Schools, 311.  
 Federal Child Labor Law, 261.  
 Federal Commissions, 357.  
 Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, 269, 297.  
 Ferrer, Francisco, 213.  
 Finland, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 173; Young People's Movement, 249.  
 Finnish Socialist Federation in the United States, 130.  
 "First Papers," method of obtaining, 372.  
 Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley, trial of, 47.  
 Food, increasing cost of, during War, 331.  
 Foreign Language Federations (Socialist) in the United States, 129.  
 France, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 177; Young People's Movement, 249.  
 French Socialist Federation in the United States, 132.

## G.

Garment Industry, "Protocol" in the, 55.  
 Garment Workers, and the Jews, 30; trial of leaders, 44.  
 "Gary Plan," The, 314.  
 General Strike, in Denmark, 172; Belgium, 167; Finland, 174; Norway, 203; Sweden, 216, 218; South Africa, 241.  
 German Socialist Federation in the United States, 133.  
 Germany, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 181; Young People's Movement, 248.  
 Gompers, Samuel, attitude on citizen army, 23; eight-hour law, 25; Mexican crisis, 239.  
 Government, form of United States, 356; Commission Form of (See Commission Form of Government).  
 Government Ownership of Public Utilities and A. F. of L. (See Articles on Public Ownership).  
 Graduate Income and Inheritance Taxation, 335; In California, 339; France, 336; Germany, 337; Great Britain, 338; New York, 339; United States, 335, 339.  
 Great Britain, Socialist and Labor Movement in, 185; Young People's Movement, 248.  
 Greece, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 193.  
 Guesde, Jules, 178, 179.  
 Guyana, Socialist Movement in, 240.

Guadeloupe, Socialist Movement in, 240.

## H.

Hardie, J. Keir, 181, 187; in Memoriam, 251.  
 Hare System (See Proportional Representation).  
 Health Legislation, treatment by Democrats, 333.  
 Health of School Children, The, 309.  
 Hillquit, Morris, 31, 45, 102, 103, 129, 158.  
 Holidays and Rest Days, legislation on, 60.  
 Holland, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 194; Young People's Movement, 249.  
 Hours of Labor, 58; legislation on, 60; court decisions on, 71; and organized labor, 13, 24.  
 Hyndman, H. M., 187.  
 Hungary, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 197.  
 Hungarian Socialist Movement in the United States, 134.

## I.

Illinois Senate Vice Committee Report, 282.-  
 Illinois, Work of Socialists in Legislature, 106.  
 Illiteracy, 311.  
 Immigration, 322; legislation on, 322; literacy test, 322; Burnett Bill, 322; and A. F. of L., 22; and public employment, (See Public Employment Offices).  
 Imperialism (See Economic Imperialism).  
 Income (Property) in the United States, 280.  
 Income Tax, 336.  
 Industrial Accidents in the United States, 290.  
 Industrial Commissions, State, 66.  
 Industrial Relations Commission, members of, 269; duties, 269; findings, 270; Manly report, 271; infant mortality, 272; unemployment, 272; causes of industrial unrest, 272.  
 Industrial Unionism and the Socialist Party, 91.  
 Industrial unions, connected with A. F. of L., 19.  
 "Industrial Union News," 38.  
 Industrial Unrest, causes of, 272.  
 Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) 36, 91.  
 Infant Mortality, 267, 272.  
 Inheritance Taxation, 339.  
 Initiative, Referendum and Recall,



- Status of, in the United States 367.
- Injunction in Labor Disputes, 88.
- Inspection, Factory, 65.
- Insurance against, accidents, sickness, old age, unemployment (See Social Insurance and Workmen's Compensation).
- Insurance, Social, in United States, 286; measure, advocated by Congressman London, 102.
- Insurance, State (See Social Insurance and Workmen's Compensation).
- Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 156.
- Interlocal (Socialist Party) Education Committee of New York, 153.
- International, The, 160; Socialist Bureau, 160; Socialist and Labor Movements, 160; (See Table of Contents); Workingmen's Association (first International), 160; Young People's, 247.
- Invalidity Insurance (See Social Insurance).
- Ireland, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 191; Italy, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 199; Young People's Movement, 248.
- Italian Socialist Federation in the United States, 136.
- J.**
- Japan, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 225.
- Japanese Socialists in America, 137.
- Jaurès, Jean, 178, 179, 232; in memoir, 251.
- Jewish Labor Movement in the United States, 30; relation to A. F. of L., 30, 32; relation to Socialists, 31; Jews, Socialist activities among, in America, 138.
- Journals, Trades Union, 27; Socialist, 146.
- Judiciary of the United States, The, 356.
- Junta, (Mexican) Revolutionary in America, 235.
- K.**
- Kansas Labor Statute Case and the Supreme Court, 68, 71, 82.
- Kidnapping, court decisions on, 69.
- Kirkpatrick, George R., 92, 129.
- Knights of Labor, 18, 89.
- L.**
- Labor and Community Centers, 318.
- Labor and the Democrats, 332.
- Labor, Knights of, 18, 89.
- Labor Movement in the U. S., 11; in various countries (See International Socialist and Labor Movements).
- Labor organizations, legislation on, 60.
- Labor Exchanges (See Public Employment Offices).
- Labor, Scientific Management and, 297.
- Labor Secretariat of New York City, 42.
- Labor Legislation in 1915, 59.
- Labor Peace Conference, 21.
- Labor unions, Socialist Party's attitude towards, 121.
- LaFollette Law, (Seaman's Act), 59, 335.
- Land Question in Mexico, 237.
- Larkin, James, 192.
- Latin America, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 231.
- Lawson, John, trial of, 45.
- Laws, Labor (See Legislation).
- Legislation, Labor, 59; Minimum Wage, 61.
- Legal Advice to labor unions, 42.
- Licensing and Examining Workmen, Legislation on, 59.
- Liebknecht, Karl, 184.
- "Life and Labor," 34.
- Liquor Problem, Socialist Party position on, 125.
- List system, (See Proportional Representation).
- Literacy Test (See Immigration).
- Lithuanian Socialist Federation in the United States, 140.
- Lockouts in the United States in 1915, 54.
- London, Meyer, 239; work in Congress, 102.
- Low wages and Prostitution, 282.
- M.**
- MacDonald, J. Ramsay, 187.
- "Maison du Peuple," Brussels, 167.
- Martinique, Socialist Movement in, 240.
- Massachusetts, Wages in, 276.
- Maurer, James H., 103; Record in Penna. Legislature, 112.
- Mexico, Socialist and Labor Movements in 234; attitude of American Socialists to intervention in, 236, 128, and A. F. of L. 239.
- Militarism, Cost of, 329; Socialist position on, 103, 125; (See War, Militarism and Preparedness and Economic Imperialism).
- Military Strike in Finland, 174.
- Mines, court decisions affecting, 78.
- Milwaukee, Record of Socialist Administration, 117.

Minimum Wage Commissions, 64;  
legislation in United States, 61.  
Medical Inspection of School Children, 309.

Mondell-Keating Bill (See Susan B. Anthony Amendment).

Monopoly and Natural Resources, 375.

Mortality, Infant, 267, 272.

Municipal Employment Bureaus (See Public Employment Offices).

Municipalities, Socialism in Canada, 230; France, 178; Germany, 183; Ireland, 192; Holland, 194; Norway, 202; Poland, 205; Serbia, 212; Sweden, 217.

Municipal ownership - (See Public Ownership, Public Employment Offices).

Municipalities, Socialist officials in America, 115.

Munitions strikes in 1915, 53.

## N.

National Farm Labor Exchange (See Public Employment Offices).

National Guild League in Great Britain, 190.

Nationalism in Austria, 162; Finland, 174; France, 179; Hungary, 197.

Naturalization, a guide to applicants for citizenship, 372.

Natural Resources, Monopoly and, 375.

Nearing, Dr. Scott, Case of, 319.

Nevada, Socialist Legislation in, 108.

New Zealand, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 245.

Nolan Bill, 371.

Norway, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 201; Young People's Movement in, 249.

## O.

Oklahoma, Socialist Legislation in, 111.

Old Age Insurance. (See Social Insurance).

## P.

Payment of Wages, legislation dealing with, 60.

Pan-Americanism, Labor, 239; attitude of A. F. of L., 22.

Peace, Socialist, Resolutions, presented to President Wilson, 102.

Pennsylvania, Socialist Legislation in, 112; State Constabulary in, 368.

Pensions and Retirement funds, legislation on, 60.

"The People," 90, 151.

Picketing, court decisions on, 68, 69.

Poland, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 204.

Polish Socialist Federation in the United States, 141.

Political vs. direct action, 121.

Porto Rico, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 239; enfranchisement of workers, 103.

Portugal, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 205.

"Preparedness," attitude A. F. of L., 22; Socialist Party, 103, 126 (see War, Militarism and Preparedness and Economic Imperialism).

President of the United States, election of, 356; powers of, 358.

Press, Labor in United States, 16, 27; Socialist, 144.

Professors, discharge of, from universities. (See Academic Freedom).

Prohibition (See Prohibition Movement in the United States).

Prohibition Movement in the United States, 323; extent of, 323, 324; by states, 323, 324; National Amendment regarding, 324.

Property Income in the United States, 280.

Proportional Representation, 365; List System, 366; Hare System, 367; in Commission-operated cities, 364.

Prostitution, and Low Wages, 282.

"Protocol," in the Needle Industry, 55.

Public Employment Offices, 368; in various cities and states, 368; and U. S. Bureau of Immigration, 369, 370; and U. S. Department of Labor, 371; American Association of, 370; legislation on, 61.

Public Ownership, Facts of, Banking, 343; Canals and Waterways, 347, 349; Fire Departments, 347; Forests, 349; Land, 343, 347, 349; Libraries, 347; Light and Power Plants, 347, 349; Police Force, 347; Railways, 347; Roads, 346; Street Car Lines, 347, 348; Water Works, 347, 349; In England, 346; Germany, 346; United States of America, 348; Democratic vs. Bureaucratic, 344; Socialism and, 345; Trade Unions and, 345. (See Public Ownership of Public Utilities, Trend toward Public Ownership.)

Public Ownership of Public Utilities, 342. (See also Facts of Public Ownership, Trend toward Public Ownership.)

Public Utilities (See Public Ownership of Public Utilities, Facts of Public Ownership).

## Q.

Quinlan, Patrick, trial of, 46.

## R.

Race Problem, Socialist Party Attitude on, 124; in South Africa, 241.

Railroads, and the Trade Union, 12; court decisions affecting, 72, 78.

Rand School of Social Science, 151.

Recall, Status of, in the United States, 367.

Referenda, Socialist Party, 128.

Referendum, Status of, in United States, 367.

Restriction of Employment, court decisions on, 77.

Research, Rand School Department of Labor, 6, 152.

Retail Store Industry (Mass.), Minimum Wage Legislation, 63.

Revolution in China, 222; Mexico, 236; Russia, 209.

Roosevelt Strike, 47.

Roumania, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 206.

## S.

Sabotage and Violence, attitude of Socialist Party toward, 92, 121.

Scandinavian Socialist Federation in the United States, 141.

Schenectady, N. Y., Socialist Administration of, 120.

Schmidt and Caplan, trial of, 45.

Schools (See articles on Public Education).

Scientific Management and Labor, 297.

Seamen's Bill (LaFollette), 59, 334.

"Second Papers," method of obtaining for citizenship, 373.

Sembat, Marcel, 178, 179.

Serbia, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 211.

Sherman Anti-Trust Law, 334.

Shiplacoff, A. I., work of, in New York State Assembly, 109.

Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the U. S. A., 41.

Sickness Insurance (See Social Insurance).

Slovak Socialist Federation in the United States, 142.

Social Democracy of America, 90.

Social Democratic Party of America, 90.

Social Insurance against accidents, 286; invalidity, 286; sickness, 286; old age, 286; unemployment, 287; and Socialist Movement, 289.

Socialist Labor Party, 89; 90, 92, 93, 96, 97, 121-3, 127, 159.

Socialist Movement International, 160; in the United States, The, 89.

Socialist Party Officials, 105.

Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party, differences between, 92; attitude on Mexican situation, 236.

Socialist Press, 144.

South Africa, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 240.

South Slavic Socialist Activities in the United States, 143.

Spain, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 213.

Standard of Living, The, 278.

State Constabulary, 368; in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, 368.

State Legislatures, Socialist Members of, 104.

Stockyard District of Chicago, conditions in, 279.

Strikebreakers, 15, 47, 50.

Strike Funds, Socialist Party Contributions to, 122.

Strikes, early, 12; Roosevelt, 47; Bayonne, 48; Arizona, 50; Chicago, 51; Youngstown, 51; in U. S. in 1915, 53; Cloakmakers', 55, 57.

Suffrage, Woman (See Woman Suffrage).

Sunday Labor, court decisions on, 72.

Sunday Schools, Socialist, 153.

Surplus Wealth and Imperialism, 325, 327.

Susan B. Anthony Amendment, 354.

Syndicalism in France, 180; Italy, 200.

Sweden, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 215; Young People's Movement, 249.

Switzerland, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 219.

## T.

Tariff, Socialist attitude regarding, 124.

Taxes (See Graduated Income and Inheritance Taxation).

Teachers' Unions, 28.

Temperance (See Prohibition Movement in the United States).

Trade and Economic Imperialism (See Economic Imperialism).

Transvaal, Labor Movement in, 241.

Trade Unions, Beginning of, 12; not affiliated with A. F. of L., 26; and Public Ownership, 345 (See Woman's Trade Union League, Labor Movement in the United States).

Trade Union Journals, 27.

Translator-secretaries of Foreign Language Federations Socialist Party in the United States, 129.

Trials, Labor, Quinlan, 46; Garment Workers, 44; Lawson, 45; Caplan and Schmidt, 45.

## U.

Union Labels and Cards, Legislation on, 60.

Union Label Department of A. F. of L., 19.

Unions, Labor, in Various Countries. (See International Socialist and Labor Movements.)

Union, possible, between S. P. and S. L. P., 92.

United Hebrew Trades, 30.

United States Commission on Industrial Relations. (See Commission on Industrial Relations.)

United States, Economic Imperialism in, 325; illiteracy in (See illiteracy), form of government, 356.

Universities of America, Socialism in, 156. (See also Academic Freedom.)

Uruguay, Socialist and Labor Movements in, 240.

Utilities, Public. (See Public Ownership of Public Utilities.)

## V.

Vaillant, Edouard, in Memoriam, 252.

Vice Committee Report. (See Illinois Senate Vice Committee Report.)

Vocational Education, 315; legislation on, 61. (See Democratizing the Schools.)

## W.

Wages in the United States, 275; of Women, 282; court decisions affecting, 71.

Walsh, Frank P., On Causes of Industrial Unrest, 273.

War, Attitude of Socialists to, in Australia, 244; Austria, 163; Belgium, 167; Bulgaria, 169; Canada, 230; China, 223; Finland, 174; France, 179; Germany, 184; Great Britain, 187, 190; Greece, 193; Holland, 195; Hungary, 197; Italy, 199; Japan, 227; Norway, 202; Roumania, 207; Russia, 210; Serbia, 212; South Africa, 241; Spain, 214; Sweden, 216; Switzerland, 220; U. S., 125.

War, Cost of, 329; and Public Ownership, 344. (See Economic Imperialism.)

White Slavery. (See Low Wages and Prostitution.)

Workers International Industrial Union (W. I. T. U.), 37.

Woman and Child Labor, 254; laws governing hours of, 259.

Woman Movement in China, 222; Mexico, 238; U. S. (See Woman Suffrage.)

Woman Suffrage in various countries, 350; in various states of the United States, 351; progress during 1915-16, 352.

Woman Suffrage, Socialist Attitude on, 125; Federal Amendment on, 125. (See Susan B. Anthony Amendment.)

Women's Trade Union League, 34.

Women, court decisions regarding hours of work, 71.

Women in gainful occupations, 256, 262; wages of, 257, 259, 264, 265.

Workmen's Circle, 39.

Workmen's Compensation, 292; court decisions on, 78.

Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the U. S. A., 41.

## Y.

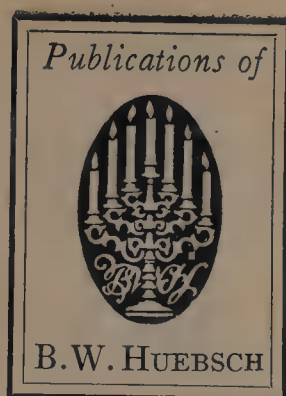
Young People's Socialist League in the United States, 154.

Young People's Socialist Movement in various countries, 247.

Youngstown Strike, 51.

## Z.

Zimmerwald (International) Conference, 161, 169, 172, 179, 187, 193, 195, 199, 202, 206, 208, 211, 213, 217, 220.



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